



*Mr Pickering's*

*1818.*







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HERCULANENSIA.

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HERCULANENSIA;  
OR  
ARCHEOLOGICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL  
DISSERTATIONS,

CONTAINING  
A MANUSCRIPT  
FOUND AMONG THE RUINS OF HERCULANEUM:

AND DEDICATED (BY PERMISSION) TO  
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

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1810.



DEDICATION.

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE OF WALES.

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SIR,

IN being permitted to dedicate this volume to your Royal Highness, it cannot but be grateful to our feelings as Englishmen, to announce to our country, and to the world, that the developement of the numerous manuscripts of Herculaneum, lately transmitted from Palermo to London, has been chiefly owing to the exertions of the Prince of Wales—to his patronage, his munificence, his taste for literature, and his zeal in its cause.

After the publication of the Treatise of Philodemus, by Rosini, which will bear lasting testimony to the profound learning, either of the Editor himself, or of his

master, the celebrated Mazzochi, the *papyri* continued for many years to lie neglected in the Museum of Portici, forgotten by the idle, and regretted by the learned. In the midst of a brilliant court, surrounded with all the embarrassments of greatness, obliged to live rather for the many than for the few, and apparently abstracted from the graver cares of literature, your Royal Highness conceived the design of restoring to the light the whole of those works, which after having lain for seventeen centuries under the ruins of Herculaneum, seemed destined, through the indolence, or indifference, of their new possessors, to remain for ever unknown to the world, as useless as they were before, and lost alike to curiosity and to science. Many obstacles opposed themselves to the accomplishment of this noble design, which address and perseverance could alone remove. The feelings of an independent Sovereign, and of an enlightened nation, were not to be wounded by the manner of a proposal, which might seem in the first instance to reflect on their inattention to the literary treasures which they possessed. Those who know your Royal Highness best, will not be surprised to learn, that the government of Naples cheerfully acceded to a request which was characterised by the generous views, the liberality, and the urbanity of him who made it. The Neapolitans admired in the

object of this request the taste for literature, and the munificent spirit of a Prince who was born to be the Patron of the Arts ; and they recognised in its manner that politeness and grace which often obtain for themselves what would be grudged to power, and what would be refused to rank or to opulence.

The difficulty of opening the rolls of *papyrus*, which had been reduced to a perfect *carbo*, can scarcely be conceived by those who have not witnessed the process. Much time, and many hands were required in carrying it on ; and the expense incurred was proportionate to the labour. When the manuscripts were unrolled, it was necessary that persons competent to the task should decypher and transcribe them ;—distribute the capital letters into the words to which they belonged ; and supply those deficiencies in the text which but too frequently recurred. At the head of the directors of this difficult undertaking were Rosini, the editor of Philodemus ; an English gentleman, sent out for the purpose by your Royal Highness ; and, we believe, a Neapolitan priest, supposed to be deeply versant in ancient literature. It was not until large sums had been expended by your Royal Highness, and the success of the execution had justified the boldness of the plan, that pecuniary assistance was requested and obtained from Parliament. Attentive as the people of this country

are, and ought to be, to the expenditure of public money, they must glory in having contributed with the Heir Apparent to the British throne, in forwarding a work which does honour to the English name.

We are sensible, Sir, that there are some, perhaps many, persons to whom we shall appear to have expressed ourselves in the language of exaggeration, and to whom the rolled, and the unrolled *papyri* will alike be objects of indifference. The mind, indeed, must, generally speaking, have been cultivated by an early and a long acquaintance with the classical writers of Greece and Rome, before it can take any very lively interest in the monuments of their genius which they have left behind them, or before it can glow with that zeal, which prompts the wealthy to expend their money, and the curious to devote their leisure, in search of the remnants of antiquity. He, who has never kindled with enthusiasm while he read the *Iliad* ; who was never charmed with the elegance of Virgil, nor affected by his inimitable expression of the passions ; whose patriotism was never warmed by the eloquence of Demosthenes ; and whose taste and imagination have neither been improved nor delighted by the writings of Cicero ; may naturally wonder at the anxiety which is felt by some of the most distinguished men who adorn our country, to peruse the literary



fragments, which the exertions of the Prince of Wales have rescued from the long oblivion in which they had been sunk for ages.

We certainly know of no period since the revival of letters, when, if classical acquirements be of any value, it has been so necessary to ascertain what that value is, as at present. Among the many extraordinary features of the revolutionary system, which is rapidly changing the state of Europe, the neglect of ancient literature is not the least remarkable. It is natural enough, that ignorance should be at war with learning, and that bad taste should desire to set up new models of its own ; but it is not so easy to determine why governments which institute academies, and which encourage the sciences, should wish to throw into the shade the ancient and the brightest ornaments of the literary world. In the countries to which we allude, the Greek and Roman Classics were the guides of their most celebrated authors, not because the latter were without original genius, but because their good sense convinced them that the compositions of the former were most agreeable to truth, to nature, and to sound criticism. No competent judge will mention without respect the names of Racine and Boileau, of Bossuet and Fenelon ; and it is not bad taste alone, that, in a country like France, could have set aside the models which such men admired and imitated.

The age of Louis the Fourteenth cannot be easily forgotten by enlightened Frenchmen. The spirit which animated, and the taste which guided the writers of that brilliant period, appeared not to have quite expired, when the National Institute, in the general and original plan of education which it proposed, recommended the attentive study of the Classics to the youth of France ; but the zeal of the Institute was easily cooled by the interference of the government ; and the knowledge which might be acquired of the learned languages was limited and defined by the curious interposition, but indisputable authority, of an imperial rescript. It was decreed that the student might be taught as much Latin, as would enable him to construe the Commentaries of Cæsar, and enough of Greek to be able to comprehend the terms of science.

We shall not pretend to assign the reasons which may have dictated an edict, evidently intended to discourage for ever the study of the learned languages, and with it all taste for the works of those who wrote in them, and whose beauties are but faintly seen through the medium of translation, and especially of French translation. We cannot, however, help remarking, and not without a meaning here, that all the distinguished writers of antiquity, without exception, were the friends of civil order, of justice, and of liberty.

Mistaken they might be on religious and metaphysical questions ; but their reasoning is always on the side of virtue, their talents were employed to defend it, and their genius was exerted to exalt it. They celebrated the actions of the great, and the deeds of the warlike ; but they reprobated the cruelty of the oppressor, and the crimes of the tyrant. No man will learn from *them* to love political confusion, or military despotism, or barbarous pomp, or unbridled ferocity, or unjust aggression, nor yet the meaner arts of a boundless and unprincipled ambition.

But whatever, Sir, may have been the views of the French government in endeavouring to repress all taste for classical literature, we cannot but feel gratified in contrasting them with those of the Heir Apparent of the Crown of England. The Greeks and Romans have been our masters in all that can tend to polish and adorn the mind. If in science we have gone beyond them—if in genius we be their rivals, it must be confessed that in taste, in grace, and in elegance, we are not yet their equals. Your Royal Highness has shown, that you desire us not to forget our masters in literature, and you have done so, because *you* know, that among them are to be found the noblest models in poetry and eloquence ; the best, because the most rational

defenders of civil liberty; and the wisest instructors, and the safest guides in the conduct of human life.

That your Royal Highness may long continue to be the protector and encourager of literature, from motives so honourable to yourself, and with views so beneficial to the country, is the ardent wish of all by whom letters are valued, or to whom their interests are dear.

We have the honour to be, with the most profound respect,

SIR,

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

Most obedient and most humble Servants,

W. DRUMMOND.

ROBERT WALPOLE.

Oct. 5, 1809.

## PREFACE.

---

**T**HIRTY-NINE years after the discovery of the ruins of Herculaneum, (which event happened in the year 1713,) an excavation was made in a garden at Resina, and there, in the remains of a house, supposed to have belonged to L. Piso, was found a great number of volumes of burnt *papyrus*. Many of these *papyri*, as they have since been generally termed, were destroyed by the workmen; but as soon as it was known that they were remnants of ancient manuscripts, their development became an object of no common interest to the learned world. Father Piaggi invented the machine which is still employed for unrolling them, and which has been already described by several writers.

When we reflect on the number of valuable works which have been lost since the period when Herculaneum was destroyed, we ought not to be surprised at the sanguine expectations which, upon the first discovery of the MSS., were entertained, of adding some important acquisitions to the treasures of ancient literature which we already possess. The lost books of Livy, and the Comedies of Menander, presented themselves to the imagination of almost every scholar. Each indeed anticipated, according to his taste, the mental pleasures, and the literary labours, which awaited him. Some connected the broken series of historical details; some restored to the light those specimens of eloquence, which, perhaps, their authors

believed incapable of being ever concealed from it; and others opened new springs, which should augment the fountains of Parnassus. Varius again took his seat by the side of Virgil; Simonides stood again with Sophocles and Pindar by the throne of Homer; and the lyre of the Theban was struck to themes and to measures, that are remembered no more.

These enthusiastic hopes were perhaps too suddenly repressed, as they had been too easily excited. When we walk among the remains of temples and palaces, we must not expect to meet only with fragments of sculpture, with the polished column, or the decorated capital. Where the ruin has been great, the rubbish is likely to be abundant. Since men have written books, many, it may be believed, have been produced in every age which were unworthy of being preserved to posterity. The first *papyrus* which was opened, contained a treatise upon music by Philodemus the Epicurean. It was in vain that Mazzochi and Rosini wrote their learned comments on this dull performance: the sedative was too strong; and the curiosity which had been so hastily awakened, was as quickly lulled to repose. A few men of letters, indeed, lamented that no further search was made for some happier subject, on which learned industry might be employed; but the time, the difficulty, and the expense, which such an enterprize required, and the uncertainty of producing any thing valuable, had apparently discouraged and disgusted the Academicians of Portici.

Things were in this state, when his R. H. the Prince of Wales proposed to the Neapolitan Government to defray the expenses of unrolling, decyphering, and publishing the manuscripts. This offer was accepted by the Court of Naples; and it was consequently judged necessary by his R. H. to select a proper person to superintend the undertaking. The reputation of Mr. Hayter as a classical scholar justified his appointment to the place which the munificence of

the Prince, and his taste for literature had created. This gentleman arrived at Naples in the beginning of the year 1802, and was nominated one of the directors for the developement of the manuscripts.

During a period of several years the workmen continued to open a great number of the *papyri*. Many, indeed, of these frail substances were destroyed, and had crumbled into dust under the slightest touch of the operator.

When the French invaded the kingdom of Naples in the year 1806, Mr. Hayter was compelled to retire to Sicily. It is certainly to be deeply regretted that all the *papyri* were left behind. Upon the causes of this singular neglect we do not wish to offer any opinion, the more especially as very opposite accounts have been given by the two parties to whom blame has been imputed. The writer of this Preface only knows with certainty, that when he arrived at Palermo in 1806, on his second mission to his Sicilian Majesty, he found that all the *papyri* had been left at Naples, and that the copies of those which had been unrolled were in the possession of the Sicilian Government. How this happened, it would be now fruitless to enquire. The English Minister made several applications to the Court of Palermo to have the copies restored; but without success, until the month of August, 1807. It was pretended, that according to the original agreement the MSS. should be published in the place where his Sicilian Majesty resided; that several Neapolitans had assisted in correcting, supplying, and translating them; that his Sicilian Majesty had never resigned his right to the possession either of the originals, or of the copies; and that as a proof of this right being fully recognized, the copies had been deposited by Mr. Hayter himself in the Royal Museum at Palermo. It was, however, finally agreed, that the MSS. should be given up *pro tempore* to Mr. Drummond, who immedi-

ately replaced them in the hands of Mr. Hayter. In the space of about a year, during which period they remained in the possession of the latter, a *fac-simile* of part of one of the copies was engraved, and some different forms of Greek characters, as found in these fragments, were printed under his direction.

From some circumstances, which took place in the summer of 1808, and to which we have no pleasure in alluding, a new arrangement became indispensable. Mr. Drummond proposed to the Sicilian Government, that the copies should be sent to London, where they might be published with advantages which could not be obtained at Palermo. His proposal was acceded to, and they have been accordingly transmitted to England. The manner, in which their publication will be conducted, will of course depend upon the determination of His R. H. the Prince of Wales, in whose hands they have been deposited; but it may be presumed that the Republic of Letters will not have to lament that these interesting fragments are to be brought to light under the auspices of a Prince, who has always shown himself to be the protector of learning and the arts. We venture not to assert, but we believe, that the MSS. will be submitted to the inspection of a select number of learned men, and will be edited under their care, and with their annotations and translations.

With respect to the present volume the authors have had no other view in giving it to the world, than to call the attention of the English public to some subjects, which the persusal of the MSS. and the ancient state and situation of Herculaneum suggested to them as worthy of being investigated. His R. H. the Prince of Wales has graciously permitted them to insert in their work a copy of one of the MSS. as it has been amended by the Academicians of Portici.

It is impossible for us to conclude this Preface, without casting



a glance on the extraordinary revolution of things, which has placed the remnants of the library of one of the *Pisos* in the hands of a British Prince. About 134 years before the destruction of Herculaneum, Britain had been invaded by Julius Cæsar; and the island, which was at first nominally annexed to the Roman empire, was gradually subdued, and in some degree civilized, by the arms and the arts of the conquerors. Several writers after the time of Cæsar, and before that of Tacitus, had described the state of the new province, and the manners of its inhabitants. The authority which the Druids possessed; their dark religion, and its bloody rites; their temples built in lonely places; and their mysteries celebrated in gloomy groves, might naturally excite the surprise and attention of the polished Romans. The inhabitants of the southern parts of the island resembled the Gauls, though they seemed yet more savage and ferocious. When Cæsar landed on the coast of Kent, the natives were unacquainted even with the comforts of life. They lived by the chase, clothed themselves with the skins of animals, and sheltered themselves from the inclemencies of the climate in huts covered with thatch. In the field their aspect was terrible, and they fought in chariots armed with scythes. To commerce, to agriculture, to all the useful arts they were strangers; but they were warlike, faithful, high-spirited, and generous. Like the ancient Persians, they could only teach their children, ἵππευειν, καὶ τοξέυειν, καὶ ἀληθίζειν, —to ride, to shoot with the bow, and to speak the truth; yet Tacitus seems to have lamented the change, when the painted barbarians began to assume the *toga*, to imitate the manners of the Romans, and to acquire many of the vices with only a few of the refinements of civilized society. But how little could Tacitus, while he read the interesting letter in which the younger Pliny described to him the eruption of Vesuvius, have imagined, that the descendants of the rude and illiterate Britons should restore to the light the

monuments of Greek and Roman literature, which that eruption appeared to have irrecoverably destroyed !

The history of the revolutions of the world ought to teach us an instructive lesson ; nor can we, who have perused the manuscripts, and who have so often trodden the soil which covers the ruins of Herculaneum, easily fail to advert to it. At the period when this city was overwhelmed by the burning lava of Vesuvius, Rome was in the zenith of her glory ; and an hundred provinces, from the confines of Ethiopia and Arabia to the mountains of Caledonia, flourished under the wise government and the gentle sway of the virtuous Titus. Ages have elapsed, since the mighty edifice of the Roman empire has crumbled into dust. A few ruins, which form a melancholy contrast with the modern temples and palaces which surround them, alone remain to point out the site, and to attest the former existence and ancient grandeur of the *eternal city*. No victor now ascends the Capitol, drawn in his triumphal car ; and no Vestal watches by the sacred fire, which piety and patriotism had destined to burn for ever.

There are few countries that have been distinguished more than our own, either in arts, or in arms ; and during the present eventful times, amidst the wreck of empires, and the crash of falling thrones, we have still enjoyed the blessings of a free constitution, under the government of our long-tried and beloved Sovereign. Still, however, the philosopher must remember, that stability is not the lot of human institutions. While we develop the manuscripts of Herculaneum, and explore the literary treasures of mighty nations now no more, let us cast an eye to the future. Who can tell, whether the time may not come, when, after a clouded season, and a gloomy interval, the glories of English literature shall emerge from obscurity in some distant country, among the descendants of barbarians, who are at present the objects of our pity or our contempt ? The

wisdom of Egypt, the riches of Babylon, the commerce of Tyre, the arts of Greece, and the magnificence of Rome, have passed away; and can we believe that our own greatness is built on surer foundations? If the remote posterity of some savage nation shall be doomed to do for us, what we have done for the ancients, let not the restorers of our literature have to say, that their ancestors had been made the victims of our avarice; that when we conquered to enrich or aggrandize ourselves, we neglected to enlighten those who became subject to our power; and that we, who boasted of freedom in our own country, knew no other distinctions between our fellow creatures and ourselves in our colonies, than those of master and of servant, of tyrant and of slave. We have seen the importation of Negroes into the West Indian islands forbidden by an act of the legislature; and the abolition of this shameful traffic has in some degree atoned for its existence, and for the long and unworthy struggle which was made for its continuance. But do not the *ô descendants* still form the principal part of the population of those islands? Do we in any of our colonies labour as we ought to do, to instruct the natives, and to ameliorate their situation? The time has been when the arts flourished on the banks of the Ganges; and there, in the opinion of many, the sun of science first rose on the nations of the earth. In the revolutions of the world India may again become the centre of power; the reflux tide may carry back with it the spoils which had been brought away from its shores; and after having made the circuit of the globe, Philosophy may return to the station, where her first-born sons were nurtured, and where her earliest lessons were taught and practised. From the ruins of Herculaneum we turn our anxious eyes to far-distant scenes; and we desire to believe that long ages hence, wherever we shall have left the monuments of our power, the proofs and the records will also remain, of our virtues, our knowledge, our generosity, and our beneficence.



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# ERRATA.

- Page 6, l. ult. for *spoliebantur*, read *spoliabantur*.  
 — 7, l. 20. for attached, read attacked.  
 — 7, l. 28. for Scylla, read Sylla.  
 — 20, l. 16, for Favorinus, read Phavorinus.  
 — 24, l. 4, for King of city, read King of the city.  
 — 24, l. 9, for of which, read of whom.  
 — 45, l. 19, for Zanthus, read Xanthus.  
 — 45, l. 30, for the masculine, read a masculine.  
 — 46-47, l. 31-1, for Mi-Mas, read Mim-as.  
 — 62, l. 2, for Σέχισθα, read Εχέισθα.  
 — 65, l. 20, for περιγυας νεβουγγιας, read περιεγγυας νεβουγγιας.  
 — 66, l. 27, for comes, read comas.  
 — 98, l. 2, for describe, read described.  
 — 103, l. 10, for peck, read puk.  
 — 105, l. 11, for *Tucita*, read *Taciti*.  
 — 120, l. 30, for indicate, read indicates.  
 — 221-228, read 121-128.  
 — 157, l. 25, for καλιστα, read καλιστα.  
 — 160, l. 1, for μόνισα, read μόνισα.  
 — 169, 175, l. 18, 7, for *Zicorini*, read *Ficorini*.  
 — 170, l. 18, for Hiviid, read Hwiid.  
 — 173, l. 24, for Sun, read Fun.  
 — 176, l. 1, for Τυγῆτιν, read Τυγῆτιν.  
 — 177, l. 5, for *Auguria*, read *Auguria*.  
 — 184, l. 28, for *Coll*, read *Col*.  
 — 193, l. 27, for κακισις, read κακισις.

Other errors may have escaped the authors, and when it is considered that some of their Dissertations were printed in their absence, due credit for his general exactness will be given to Mr. Bulmer.





# DISSERTATIONS, &c.

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## DISSERTATION I.

*On the Size, Population, and political State of the ancient City of  
Herculaneum.*

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BY THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM DRUMMOND.

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CLUVERIUS pretends that Herculaneum was a small town, and for the proof of his assertion he refers his readers to three passages which he cites from Strabo, Sisenna, and Dionysius of Halycarnassus. With all my respect for the authority of Cluverius, who has written with so much erudition on the antiquities of Italy, I cannot assent to his opinion concerning Herculaneum.

These are the words of Strabo: Εχομενον δε φρεριον εστιν το Ηρακλειον, εκκειμενην εις την θαλαττην ακραν εχον καταπνεομενην λιξι θαυμασιως, &c. *Protinus sequitur* (Neapolim) *Herculaneum castellum, promontorium habens in mare projectum, quod Africo mirum in modum perflatur, &c.* This passage seems to be mutilated. I cannot, however, read μακραν for ακραν with Martorelli; nor render φρεριον a town. Neither is his

justification of this translation satisfactory: *at si Strabo hanc urbem φρεριον dicat, ne credas oppidulum fuisse, vel castellum, aut vicum, nam Diodorus etiam ingentem urbem Catanam φρεριον dicit.* The passage in Diodorus does not authorise this remark; and Martorelli has not cited the words, which are, Διονυσιος . . . . επεισε δε και τες την Καλαινην οικησας Καμπανες εις την νυν καλυμενην Αιλην μεταστηναι δια το λιαν ειναι το φρεριον οχυρον, *Campanis etiam, qui Catanam illo tempore incolebant, persuasit Dionysius, ut in oppidum quod nunc Ætna vocatur, propter eximiam castelli firmitatem commigrarent.* Without admitting then that the emendations of Martorelli are right, I must still observe, that he will often be wrong who trusts too implicitly to the faithless text of Strabo. After all, the passage proves little for Cluverius. Strabo was enumerating the places as they were to be seen on the shores of the *Campania felix*, and he might naturally indicate Herculaneum by its most remarkable feature, which was its castle.

The citation from Sisenna is obscure: *Quod oppidum tumulo in excelso loco propter mare, parvis mœnibus inter DUAS FLUVIAS, infra Vesuvium collocatum.* The general authority of Nonius, by whom this passage from Sisenna is given, has been questioned by Mazzochi, Kuster, and Martorelli. Besides, the name of the town is not mentioned; and who has ever heard of two rivers running on each side of Herculaneum? For the rest, the passage is not Latin.

Dionysius of Halycarnassus states, that Hercules founded a *little town*, which was called after his name, half way between Naples and Pompeia. This statement proves nothing for Cluverius. Dionysius does not speak of Herculaneum as being a small town in his own time, but describes it such as it was left by Hercules, when that hero passed over into Sicily.

It is more remarkable, that Cluverius should insist on the diminutive size of Herculaneum, when it appears that it was called a city in three passages, which he himself has cited from Florus, Xiphilinus, and Ovid. It received the same appellation from Dion Cassius.

Of the population of *Herculaneum* it would be difficult to deliver a positive opinion. I have been assured, that the theatre which has been discovered there might contain about eight thousand spectators, and as women were not accustomed in those times to frequent the theatres, this account supposes a very great population.

We cannot, however, doubt of the opulence of this city from its remains; and where there is opulence there must be population. The statues, the pictures, the vases, the medals, the libraries, the furniture, the numerous articles of luxury and ornament, the houses, the baths, and the spacious theatre, which have been discovered among the ruins of *Herculaneum*, attest the splendour of the place, and the wealth of its inhabitants. Cicero thus indicated its luxury, and perhaps its corruption, in his oration against *Rullus*: *Accedet eomons Gaurus; accedent salicta ad Minturnas, adjugetur etiam illa via vendibilis Herculanea, multarum deliciarum, et magnæ pecuniæ, &c.*

Martorelli has justly ridiculed the mistake of the commentators, who have understood Tully to have alluded here to the *via Herculeæ*, which separated the Lucrin lake from the sea. The account given of this mole by Strabo would in no way correspond with the meaning of Cicero in the passage quoted above; and it seems inconceivable how the commentators should have fallen into this palpable error. Martorelli seems, however, to be himself mistaken, when, after citing the words of Cicero, he adds, *vides jam viam ipsam, quæ ad id oppidum ducebat, tot deliciarum ubertate affluentem*. Now the orator appears to have spoken of *Herculaneum* itself, *that vendible Herculanean street*. If we suppose *Herculaneum* to have resembled the towns now built over its ruins, these words would be very descriptive. *Portici*, *Resina*, and *Torre del Greco* make a long street; and the form and extent of the town are marked in the expressive phrase of Cicero, as well as the venality of its inhabitants.

According to the opinion of all the learned persons with whom I have conversed on the subject, or whose writings I have seen, with

the exception of Cluverius, Herculaneum must have enjoyed the privileges of a municipal city. Cluverius, indeed, has not taken the question into direct consideration; but the persons to whom I particularly refer, have made this conclusion chiefly from some inscriptions which have been found among the ruins.

The first of these of which I shall take notice was found on a plate of brass. It seems to have been offered as a tribute of respect to Memmius, by persons styling themselves *municipes et incolæ*. I must, however, take the liberty of differing from those with whom I have hitherto conversed on this evidence. It appears to me by no means to amount to a positive proof that Herculaneum was a municipal town. A *municeps* of Naples would still call himself *municeps*, when he became an inhabitant of Herculaneum; and that this might happen conformably with established custom may be shown from Ulpian.

On two weights, which were also found among the ruins, were the following inscriptions:

1.

*Ti . . Cl . . dio C . sar . Aug . s . .*  
*L . . . . . tellio Cos . . . . . Ponder . exact .*  
*. P . . . . . s Cur . Æd . . . . . H . . . . .*

2.

*D. D. P. P. Herc.*

These mutilated inscriptions have been thus restored:

*Tito Claudio Cæsari Augusto,*  
*Lucio, Vitellio, Consulibus, pondera exacta*  
*A Præfectis cura Ædilium Herculansium.*

*Decurionum decreto Præfecti*  
*ponderibus Herculansium.*

Upon the offices herein mentioned, I shall make a few short remarks.

1. The *Præfecti* indicated in these inscriptions were probably the *præfecti ærarii*. Their office was instituted by Augustus, as we learn from Dio, and the care of the public treasury was transferred from the *Quæstore* to the *Præfecti*. *Cura ærarii à quæstore ad præfectum translata est.* (*A. Gellius.*)

2. Suetonius has erroneously stated the æra when the office of *Ædile* was established in the colonies and municipal towns. That it was necessary to their constitution may be inferred from the words of Cicero: *Se Marcum filium in Arpinati municipio ædilem creari voluisse ad constituendum municipium.*

3. The rank of the *Decuriones* was originally military, nor was it of the highest. *Primi singularum decuriarum Decuriones dicti sunt.* (*Varro.*) They afterwards held the same situation in the colonies and municipal towns as the senators held at Rome. *Neque erat ferendum qui cum haruspicinam facerent, in Senatu Romæ legerentur, eos, qui aliquando præconium fecissent, in municipiis Decuriones esse non licere.* (*Cicero.*)

On some pieces of marble found at Herculaneum were inscribed the names of several hundred persons, together with the names of the tribes to which they belonged, as *cives Romani*.

From these testimonies it has been concluded, that Herculaneum was a *municipium*. I shall have occasion to offer a few remarks on this conclusion before I bring the present dissertation to a close. In the first place, however, I shall submit to my readers some considerations on the state, rights, and privileges of the *municipia*.

The inhabitants of a *municipium* preserved, if they pleased, their own laws and usages. Some of them, as appears from the oration for Balbus, could scarcely be tempted, even by the offer of the citizenship of the capital, to accept the *jus Romanum*. Still the *municipes*, who retained the *jus Latinum*, were considered as honorary members

of the Roman republic; and they were in no manner bound to observe the peculiar institutions of the capital, because they could not be proposers, or authors, of the particular laws by which that city was governed.

It was not until the promulgation of the Julian law, that the citizenship of Rome was generally offered to the Latins, on condition that those who were honoured with the appellation of Roman citizens should renounce their ancient institutions. But here it may be asked, what were the real advantages proposed to the municipal towns by the Julian law? The definitions of the words *municipes* and *municipium*, which have been given by the Roman authors, are neither quite so clear, nor quite so consistent, as might have been wished; and yet we learn enough from them to make it appear in the first instance extraordinary, that the Julian law produced the effect which almost immediately resulted from it. *Municipes*, says Aulus Gellius, *sunt cives Romani ex municipiis suo jure, et legibus suis utentes, numeris tantum cum populo Romano honorarii participes; a quo munere capessendo appellari videntur; nullis aliis necessitatibus, neque ulla populi Romani lege adstricti, cum nunquam populus eorum fundus factus esset. Municipium*, says Festus, *id genus hominum dicitur, qui cum Romam venissent, nec cives Romani essent participes tamen fuerunt omnium rerum ad munus fungendum una cum civibus Romanis præterquam de suffragio ferendo, aut magistratu capiendo.* The state of the inhabitants of the municipal towns then seems to have been sufficiently happy. If they could not give votes, nor receive the offices of Roman magistrates, they were not bound to obey the laws, or to adopt the institutions of Rome.

The influence of ambition appears, however, to have determined the greater number of the municipalities to accept the offer made to them by the promulgation of the Julian law. The right of giving their suffrages was the compensation offered to those who acceded to this law, on the condition that they adopted the *jus Romanum*. *Qui suffragio in civitate Romana valebant, says Livy, suis legibus spoliebantur.*

Every man who hoped to obtain the honours of the state naturally desired a change which placed him on a level with the citizens of Rome ; and yet, when the inhabitants of the municipal towns abandoned their ancient privileges, they necessarily became the slaves of those tyrants who governed the capital.

It is, indeed, impossible to consider the Julian law, without remarking, that while in some respects it seemed favourable both to the people of Rome, and to the Latins, it prepared the way for the destruction of liberty. It united millions of subjects to the state ; and citizens, instead of strangers, were enrolled in the legions. It held out powerful attractions to the Latins, and raised them to the rank of their conquerors. But when Italy was covered with the troops, and corrupted by the gold of a few powerful leaders ; and when the rights of Roman citizens were shared by strangers, who had abandoned their own institutions, the value of their privileges became diminished in the eyes of the Roman people, and the efforts of the few remaining patriots to preserve them were rendered less effectual. The republican party, which formerly could count on a majority of votes upon every occasion, where its most essential interests were attached, soon found itself out-numbered by the strangers, who were now permitted to legislate for Rome, and who were almost universally influenced by the chiefs whose armies were stationed in the provinces. The Julian law, while it seems both just and prudent, both humane and politic, is stamped with the ambition which characterised the mind of Cæsar.

It would appear, however, from some passages in Cicero, and particularly in the oration on his return from banishment, and in that which he pronounced for Scylla, that the municipal cities of Italy gave their votes in great affairs of state, even before the promulgation of the Julian law. This law, indeed, extended the evil, and gave it a sanction which contributed to hasten the ruin of the Republic. Cicero himself was evidently averse to it ; but if it had not tended

in the way which I have shown, to the subversion of liberty, the measure might have been applauded for its justice, and perhaps yet more for its policy. It offered no violence to those who chose to retain their ancient usages ; and Roman urbanity still acknowledged the *municipes* as honorary sharers of public duty with the citizens of Rome. We ought not to refuse due praise to the Romans, when they admitted that no people who had not become a *populus fundus* could be forced to follow the usages, or to obey the ordinances of the capital. The principle of liberty cannot be misunderstood, which teaches that those alone, who either are the authors of the law, or are competent to become so, can be compelled by the law. It is honourable to the character of the conquerors that they would not violate this principle, by making laws for those who neither immediately, nor mediately, neither of themselves, nor by their representatives, could give their votes on any act of the Roman legislature.

But the polite language, and the mild demeanour of the Romans, were calculated to extend and to perpetuate their power, as well as gradually to bring the whole civilized world under their immediate jurisdiction. The force of arms had reared the mighty fabric of their empire. To give it stability, was a yet more difficult enterprise. Union among nations, as among individuals, proceeds from identity of interests ; and it could have been no easy task for the Romans to link so many nations to themselves by the bonds of interest. This was only to be done by institutions moral, religious, and political, which it might be advantageous for the conquerors to establish, and for the conquered to adopt, and by rendering the manners, customs, and laws of Rome, the manners, customs, and laws of the countries which it had subdued. This obvious policy appears to have been steadily followed by the Romans, who seemed to have been not more desirous that Rome should be considered as the mistress of the world, than that she should be respected as the parent of that system of law by which mankind consented to be governed.



The city of Rome, with its own original territory, was a speck in the world which it had conquered. The Romans, therefore, naturally commenced their plan of moral subjugation, if I may be allowed the term, with their immediate neighbours. They generally showed every mark of external respect for the ancient institutions of the cities of Italy ; but while, with a wise moderation, they left it to the choice of the Latins and the allies to accept, or to reject, the *jus Romanum* ; while they distinguished the *municipes*, who still retained the *jus Latinum*, as honorary participers of public duty with themselves, they did not fail highly to exalt the privileges of the real above those of the nominal citizen. No great office of the state could be held by him who had not adopted the civil jurisprudence of Rome: no people, who, in the language of the law, had not become a *populus fundus*, could proffer a vote ; and he who called himself a Roman, and who appealed to the laws of Rome, could not be tried before a provincial tribunal.

A question once arose, in the celebrated case of Balbus, whether an inhabitant of a federated state, in which the people had not become a *populus fundus*, could receive the citizenship of Rome. This was evidently a question of much importance to the municipalities. The reasoning of Cicero concerning it does not at first sight appear very clear ; it will be found, however, to be just upon examination, and it merits attention from all who would wish to know the relations which existed between the provinces and the great capital of the empire.

The orator thus states the condition on which the freedom of Rome was accorded to the Latins and the allies by the Julian law ; *qui fundi populi facti non essent, civitatem non haberent*. Why then did he ridicule the accuser of Balbus for having denied, *ex federato populo quemquam potuisse, nisi is populus fundus factus esset, in hanc civitatem venire* ? Was it because this accuser did not know what was meant by a *populus fundus*, as has been the case with some of the

commentators? I answer, with Valesius, in the negative. Pompey had been authorized by the Gellian law to bestow the citizenship on whom he pleased, and among others he had given it to Balbus. The rule in the Julian law was consequently inapplicable to the case. Cicero, however, particularly ridiculed his unequal antagonist, for maintaining that the freedom of Rome could not be conferred on Balbus, because the people of the federated state to which he belonged had not become a *populus fundus*, as if an individual belonging to a federated state were less eligible than any other person, who was rewarded with the citizenship by the means of a decree which had been passed by the Roman people.

From what I have stated, it must be obvious that the promulgation of the Julian law altered altogether the situation of the *municipia* of Italy. Some confusion appears to have been produced by it at Naples and Heraclea; but we may conjecture, with every appearance of probability, that the murmurs of the discontented were neither very long, nor very generally heard. The Emperor Adrian, in an oration which he pronounced *de Italicisibus*, expressed his surprise at the number of municipal towns which had adopted the *jus Romanum*.

When I reflect upon the inscriptions which have been found among the ruins at Herculaneum, I confess I do not see the proofs of its having been a *municipium*, which some of my friends have thought they discovered. It appears to me, on the contrary, that this city had yet a higher rank, and was classed among the colonies. Aulus Gellius (says a modern writer) defines the colonies to have been, *civitates ex civitate Romana quodammodo propagatæ*. These are not exactly the words of Gellius, but they have the same sense: *Sed coloniarum alia necessitudo est; non enim veniunt extrinsecus in civitatem, nec suis radicibus nituntur; sed ex civitate quasi propagatæ sunt*. Now we know, that at three different periods the Romans sent colonies into the *Campania Felix*. The number of colonists sent by Julius Cæsar into this fertile province must have amounted to at least one

hundred thousand, including women and children. The city of Herculaneum was unquestionably one of those destined for the reception of these colonists, for Dionysius of Halycarnassus informs us, that in his time it was inhabited by Romans (η και νυν απο Ρωμαιων οικουμενη). To this I may add, upon the authority of the learned Capaccio, that after the destruction of their town, the Herculanenses were transferred to Naples, and were enrolled among the colonists of that city.

The colonies held the place of honour, if I may so speak, among the states subject to Rome. Aulus Gellius, in comparing their condition with that of the municipal towns, makes the following observation; *quæ tamen conditio quum sit magis obnoxia et minus libera, potior tamen et præstabilior existimatur, propter amplitudinem majestatemque populi Romani, cujus istæ coloniæ quasi effigies parvæ simulacraque esse quædam videntur.* In confirmation of this, I would remark, that when the colonies are mentioned in the laws, as, for example, in the Manilian law, they are named before the *municipia*, *præfecturæ*, and *fora*.

## DISSERTATION II.

*On Campania in general, and that Part of it called Felix.*

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BY ROBERT WALPOLE, ESQ.

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THE country about the Po was the only portion of Italy that could dispute the pretensions of Campania to the appellation of the most beautiful and most fertile spot in that part of Europe. The country between the Alps and the Po is called by Tacitus *florentissimum*; it is entitled by Plutarch, in his life of Marius, ἀρίστη; and in his life of Camillus it is praised highly. The palm, however, was given almost unanimously to Campania. It is concerning this, as well as that part of it called peculiarly *Felix*, that we intend to offer a few remarks, premising, that we have profited of the laborious dissertations of Camillus Peregrinus on the subject, from whom, however, we shall be found to differ occasionally.

The first country called Campania, of which we have any notice, is that which was afterwards called Chaonia, and subsequently Epirus. The little information we have on this subject is derived from Servius, on the words of Virgil, *Chaonios cognomine campos*. The name Campania was abolished by Helenus, who settled there, and the country was called Chaonia.

Let us proceed to Italy, where the first country that we meet with under the name of Campania is that called *Campania Vetus*; this was beyond the Silarus, and received afterwards the name of

Lucania. And here we agree with Cluverius, in opposition to Camillus Peregrinus, who thinks that the words ταύτης τῆς χώρας in Strabo, apply to Lucania; but the passage of that geographer is probably corrupt. This tract was so named, from its being the first part called Campania, the earliest inhabitants of which were the Tuscans. Afterwards it extended itself from the Silarus to the Sarnus, and the occupiers of it were named Piceni, whose situation is fixed there by Ptolemy and Pliny.

The next prolongation is that from the Sarnus, or promontory of Surrentum, as far as Sinuessa. Strabo's words (Lib. V.) on this point are decisive. Over this extent of coast, between the two promontories, was Campania, πεδῖον εὐδαιμονεστάτου τῶν ἀπάντων, shut up by the Samnite and Osci mountains.

In this part was placed the space called by Pliny and Livy *Campanus ager*, and by Dionysius of Halicarnassus ἡ Καμπανῶν πεδιάς; its extent is given by Cicero in his epistle to Atticus in the second book; *qui ager ut dena jugera sint non amplius hominum quinque millia potest sustinere*; that is, there were not 50,000 acres, a *jugerum* being a square measure, equal to two thirds of an acre.

If we may believe Silius Italicus, Campania extended from Surrentum and Nuceria, not only beyond Sinuessa and the river Liris, the boundary affixed by Ptolemy, but beyond Caieta and Fundi. The lines of the poet to prove this, are quoted by Camillus Peregrinus, who supposes that here the country is described *per κατάχρησιν*, and that the Romans gave sometimes the name of Campania to countries that were really beyond the defined boundaries of it, but which might receive that name from their fertility or beautiful situation. He thinks that a stronger argument for the extent of Campania, as far even as Terracina, may be found in a passage of Saint Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, which we give in the Vulgate Latin version: *Inde circumlegentes devenimus Rhegium, et post unum diem, flante Austro, secundo die venimus Puteolos, ubi inventis fratribus*

*rogati sumus manere apud eos dies septem; et sic venimus Romam. Et inde cum audissent fratres occurrerunt nobis usque ad Appii forum ac Tres Tabernas.*

Camillus Peregrinus here supposes, that by *Romam* the Apostle means the Roman territory, and as he subjoins the *forum Appii* and the *Tres Tabernas*, that he alluded to the boundary of the ancient Roman territory which extended on that side as far as *Circeii*; and consequently that Campania on the other side extended as far as *Circeii*, or near it and *Terracina*. This explanation depends on the meaning which he has affixed to the Greek words καὶ οὕτως ἤλθομεν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμην, which interpretation, as well as that given by Caietanus, Lorinus, and Liranus, does not appear to us satisfactory; we are more pleased with that of Beza, *et sic contendimus Romam, id est dedimus nos in viam*; or, as we should familiarly translate it, and thus we set off on our way to Rome. When Augustus divided Italy into eleven regions, he placed in the first that portion of it which lies between the Tiber and the Silarus, and added to it a part of Samnium. The Picentini probably belonged to the second. Camillus Peregrinus thinks that the first division had no particular appellation, but for the sake of clearness and distinction, he calls it *Campania Augusti*.

The Emperor Hadrian, who reduced Italy to four regions, each governed by a proconsul, added to the first region of Augustus the *Hirpini*, who bordered on *Apulia*, and then the name of *Campania* was given to this first division of Augustus increased by the country which Hadrian had added to it. This distribution of the tract which extended to *Apulia*, including *Equus Tutulus* and *Beneventum*, continued many years after the death of Hadrian, and we find authors of a very late age making mention of it. The precise time when its boundaries were contracted is not known; but from an examination of the description of Italy by *Paulus Diaconus*, and the *Notitia Ultri-usque Imperii*, it may be concluded that this change took place in the

interval which elapsed between the age of Gratian and that of Theodosius.

Procopius has preserved to us the extent of Campania in his time. It was included between the Silarus and Terracina; Beneventum and the Hirpini had been restored to the Samnites. But how shall we reconcile with this the great extent which Jornandes has assigned to it? He says it reached as far as the Faro of Messina (*ad fretum quod inter Campaniam Siciliamque interjacet*), and Athanasius makes it extend to the same distance in his letter to the Emperor Jovinian, in which he names the places whose churches had approved the doctrines of the Christian religion established in the Nicæan council. We can only suppose, with Camillus Peregrinus, that these two authors alluded to one of the four great divisions of Italy by Hadrian (in one of which was Campania), and that the limits mentioned by Procopius were those made by order of Constantine.

The last account we have of Campania brings us to the time when the Lombards, in the year 568 after Christ, invaded Italy, and took a great part of it from the Greek emperors. The parts of the country inland fell an easy prey to the invaders; they assumed a new form; they lost their ancient appellation of Campania; and that name, which had at first been distinctively applied to the greatest part of Italy, was again bestowed on two towns on the sea-coast, Neapolis and Cumæ, which alone had resisted the forces of the Lombards.

We now proceed to consider that part of Campania peculiarly denominated Felix. That modern authors should not have exactly agreed on the precise site of this country, will not be a matter of astonishment to any one who is conversant with those passages, in which the ancient authors have alluded to it in a manner so vague and confused. In such circumstances, when we are to choose between conflicting authorities, we should doubtless embrace those which are most respectable, and of greatest weight; and under this

head no names, we conceive, can be more aptly ranged than those of Pliny and Polybius, by whose words we propose to determine the extent of Campania Felix.

Cluverius, Sanfelix, and Peregrinus, have given, in our opinion, too great an extent to this country. The boundaries given to it by Sanfelix, with whom Camillus agrees, are, on the NW. the Liris, on the SE. the Sarnus, on the NE. the mountains which divide it from the Samnites and Hirpini; the fourth side is washed by the sea. We suppose that Pliny, in the following passage, meant to state that spot whence Campania Felix began. Here was the difficulty; about its termination the doubts were not so great.

*Oppidum Sinuessa extremum in adjecto Latio; hinc Felix illa Campania est; ab hoc sinu incipiunt vitiferi colles et temulentia nobilis, succo per omnes terras inclyto.* L. III.

Cluverius is of a different opinion. It is an error of which some learned men have been guilty (*error doctissimis quibusdam viris irrep-sit*), he says, to give the meaning which we have affixed to the words of Pliny.

By the word Felix, Pliny appears to us to mean to distinguish a particular tract of country, and not to use it as a general unmeaning expression.

In the same manner *εὐδαίμων* was given in Greek, as a name to part of Arabia, to distinguish it from two other parts less fruitful and fortunate. Sede-Aram in Mesopotamia was opposed to the less cultivated part of that country; the former called, by Strabo, *εὐδαίμων ἱκανῶς καὶ εὐβροτος*; the countries in the latter were styled *ἀνυδρα καὶ λυπρά*.

So also the appellative Felix was given to that Campania (which began at the spot that Pliny has marked out) from its peculiar excellence: and that parts of Campania were superior to other spots in fertility and beauty, we learn from Pliny himself: *Quantum autem universas terras campus circumcampanus antecedit, tantum ipsum pars ejus*



*quæ Leboriæ vocatur*; and this passage is so contradictory to what Cluverius says, that nothing but the necessity of supporting his own conjectures on the subject could have induced him, in opposition to Pliny, to advance, *Campania Italiæ una, sola, simplex, in plures partes atque cognomina minime distincta*.

But even if it be not conceded to us, that we are to consider Pliny as laying down the commencement of Campania Felix in the passage above, we still think that the great praises which have been bestowed on the country about Capua by Polybius and Varro, and that part called Leboria by Pliny, would induce the belief that these tracts were indubitably a portion of a country entitled Felix. They are praised in preference to any other part of Campania.

*The plains about Capua, says Polybius, are, of all those in Italy, the most conspicuous, both on account of their excellence and beauty.* This passage, together with that of Varro quoted by Servius at the third Æneid, seems decidedly to mark a spot justly called Felix.

We find then the country to the south of Sinuessa, that about Capua, and the part about Leboria, all extolled in preference to any other parts by Polybius and Pliny, in passages which we confess elucidate each other so much, that we believe they all meant one and the same country, Campania Felix, called so κατ' ἐξοχὴν, a tract commencing between Sinuessa and the river Volturnus.

It would appear then that Campania Felix occupied an extent of country somewhat greater than that commonly called the Phlegrean plains, where the Tuscans built twelve cities.

For we have seen that it takes the tract between Sinuessa and the Volturnus (say the Pons Campanus, seventeen miles from Capua) as its beginning, and continues, including the country about Capua and Leboria. Now these two latter places, as we learn from Pliny and Polybius, are in the Phlegrean plains; but Nola is also given by Livy and Polybius to Campania Felix, and Nola is in the Phlegrean plains. Whether Nuceria should also be given to it is not very clear. Ptolemy

deducts from Campania Felix, Surrentum and Nuceria, while Polybius ascribes the latter to it. Not to oppose Ptolemy, we take the Sarnus for the boundary on that side of Campania Felix.

In this part of Campania, the Tuscans built twelve cities; the names of two of these, Capua and Nola, have been preserved to us. These cities had probably been built after the model of those in Tuscany. This country was anciently divided into twelve states, each of them governed by an elective chief, called Lucumon. They nevertheless formed one body, uniting their forces together, but often at dissension with each other. This discord and division rendered them, in after times, an easy prey to the Romans.

If it be said that Livy excludes the *Falernus ager* from Campania, the explanation of the passage comes from himself; for, he says that a short time before, the Romans had taken away Falernum from the Campanians to punish a revolt of which they had been guilty.

Having ascertained the length of Campania Felix, namely, from the Pons Campanus to the river Sarnus, and laying down Mons Tifata and its continuation towards the SE. for its eastern boundary, we have now to seek for the cities on its western side. The first that occur are Pompeii, and Herculaneum, and Cosa, near Vesuvius and the Sarnus, in the place now called Cività. Thus far on the coast our progress is clear; but the remainder, from Neapolis to Cumæ, in our opinion, did not belong originally to Campania Felix; for Neapolis was *Opicorum urbs*; now the Opici were not in Campania, according to the geographer Marcianus. Besides, Pliny makes a distinction between the two, in *Neapolitano Campanoque agro*; and as this passage opposed the opinion of Cluverius and Camillus Peregrinus, they have judged proper to alter it; the former changing *Campanoque* into *Puteolanoque*, the latter into *Campaniæ*, omitting the particle; two violations of the text which are quite needless.

Strabo also, in a passage in his fifth book, may be here referred to; he says, that *the Neapolitans after an insurrection received some Campa-*

*nians as citizens*, which would have been unnecessary, if Neapolis had belonged to Campania.

Cumæ, being a city of the Opici, must, for the reason abovementioned, be excluded from Campania.

But in after times, the whole coast from Herculaneum round Misenum, as far as Vulturnum, was given to Campania Felix; and this addition took place at the time, probably, when the Romans produced Latium beyond the Volsci as far as Sinuessa.

With this addition, the greatest breadth of Campania Felix, from the Mons Tifata to Misenum, will be twenty-eight geographical miles; its length, from the Pons Campanus to the river Sarnus, twenty-five geographical miles.

## DISSERTATION III.

*On the Etymology of Herculaneum.*


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 BY THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM DRUMMOND.
 

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THE etymology of the word *Herculaneum* will be found more embarrassing, than it may at first sight appear to be. The obvious derivation is from Hercules; but of this last word, what is the origin? Shall we answer, from the Greek *Ἡρακλῆς*? The etymology is as difficult in this case, as in the other. Some derive *Ἡρακλῆς* from *Ἡρως* and *κλεος*, and make it signify *the glory of heroes*;—others, from *ἥρα*, *assistance*, and *κλεος*, *glory*;—others again from *Ἡρα*, *Juno*, and *κλεος*, *glory*. How shall we admit any of these etymologies, when it is considered that Hercules was worshipped in Egypt, and in Phœnicia, long before divine honours were rendered to him in Greece? The usual practice of the Greeks was to retain Oriental names, and yet to modify them to sounds analogous to the rhythm of their own language.

We are told by Diodorus Siculus, that the most ancient Hercules was an Egyptian deity. A Greek writer, who is cited, but not named, by Favorinus, says, that Hercules was called *Chon*, in the dialect of the Egyptians: *Τον Ἡρακλῆν φασὶ καλεῖσθαι τὴν Αἰγυπτίων διαλεκτὸν Χωνα λεγέσθαι*. Hesychius gives the name of *Γιγνων*, or *Γιγων*, to the Hercules of Egypt; and it is easy to see, that *Chon*, *Gignon*, and *Gigon*, are names imitative of the same sound. Thus we have found the most ancient

Hercules, and his most ancient name; but who is the etymologist; and eymologists are generally brave men, who will venture to derive Hercules from Chon, Gignon, or Gigon?

The question will become yet more perplexed, when it shall appear that Chon was the Egyptian name for Saturn. The idolatrous Jews worshipped the image of a god, who was called כִּיּוֹן *Chiun*, or *Chion*. Now the sounds are too much alike not to induce the belief, that the same deity was named Chon and Chion in the different, but not very dissimilar, dialects of Egypt and Palestine. That Chion, Chon, and Saturn were the same, may be concluded from the following observations.

1. Amos the prophet said to the idolatrous Jews, *ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chiun, the star of your God*. Such is the English interpretation, and, with one slight exception, it is exactly rendered from the Hebrew. The Coptic, Arabic, and Æthiopian versions, as well as the Septuagint and Vulgate, have different readings. We find in the first, *ye have accepted the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your God Rephan*; in the second, *ye have received the tabernacle of Melcum, and the star of your God Rephan*; in the third, *ye have borne the pavilions of Moloch, and ye adore the star of your God Rephan*; in the fourth, *ye have received the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your God Rephan*; in the fifth, *ye have carried the tabernacle for your Moloch, and the image of your idols; the star of your God Remphan*. In all these readings Remphan, or Rephan, is substituted for Chiun; and Rephan, as it appears from the tables of Kircher, was one of the Egyptian names for Saturn. This substitution is authorised by the words of St. Stephen, *yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your God Remphan*. The Syriac version has *Melchum* and *Rephon*.

2. It appears from the Hebrew original, that Chiun and Moloch were the same, for they had both the same tabernacle, and their star was the star of the same God. Now the dreadful rites performed in

honour of Moloch and Saturn were exactly similar. Human victims were sacrificed to both. This is confessed by Porphyry and Macrobius, and was strongly urged against the Pagans by Origen, and other Christian writers. The description, indeed, which Diodorus Siculus has given of the brazen statue of Saturn at Carthage, seems to show that this God could have been no other than Moloch. This statue of Saturn, says the historian, held its extended hands inclined towards the ground, so that when the children were laid on them, they might roll off, and fall into a chasm which was filled with fire. The vast and grim idol of Moloch was likewise of brass; its head was adorned, as Calmet observes, with a crown of gold of enormous weight; and its shoulders were covered with a regal mantle. The votaries of this idol passed to it through six cells to a seventh, where stood the image red with heat, and irradiated with fire. Then the child to be immolated was placed in the burning gripe of Moloch; and the noise of drums, and the howling of the priests of this infernal sacrifice, prevented the cries of the sufferer from being heard: hence the place was called Tophet and the valley of Hinnon.

3. Plautus calls Saturn by the name of Chion in the Phœnician, which he has introduced into one of his plays. The words are ascertained to be *כִּיּוֹן*, *the image of Chion*. The Persians and Arabians formerly gave the name of *Chetwan* to the planet Saturn, as is attested by Radak. Aben Ezra, who tells us that *Chaitwan* is the Arabic name for Saturn, observes, that *Chaitwan* is the same with Chion.

4. *Chonia*, or *Chone*, was one of the ancient names of Italy: *Osiris advenit in Italiam*, says Castella, *ubi novitas et virtus semper imperant: is gigantes devicit omnes comitatus Hercule Chone, a quo populi Chones*, Ἔς. Χωνην την Ιταλιας παλαι ελεγον ως φησιν Ἀντισχος ο Ξενοφανης εν τω περι Ιταλιας. (*Hesychius*.) Saturnia, as is well known, was one of the ancient names of a part of Italy. I easily agree with Mazzochi, in thinking the Greek *Χρονος*, or *κρονος*, to be a corruption from *כִּיּוֹן*.

This is strongly confirmed by Plutarch, who, in speaking of the Egyptian Anubis, says that Κνυν was the same with Κρυνος.

5. Selden and Kircher appear to have doubted whether Moloch and Saturn were the same. It must be confessed, that while Tertulian and others contend that infants were sacrificed to Saturn, some Hebrew writers describe the offering of infants to Moloch, as an innocent ceremony. Among these I particularly remark Levi Ben Gerson and Ramban; but their testimony cannot be put in competition with that of Jeremiah: *And they have built the high places of Tophet, which is the valley of the son of Hinnon, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire.*

From these observations it seems manifest, that Chon, or Chion, Moloch, and Saturn were the same. In what manner, then, could Chon be the appellation of Hercules? But our embarrassment is not to stop here. I have shewn, that Chon and Saturn were the same with Moloch, and yet Moloch was another name for Mars. The temples of Mars, as we learn from Vitruvius, were built without the walls of cities, and the same custom was observed with respect to those of Moloch. Human victims, according to Herodotus, were sacrificed to Mars; and to pass at once to the proof, Moloch was the Egyptian name for Mars, and is to be found as such in the tables of Kircher. There are yet new difficulties. Rephan was one of the appellations given to Mars by the Egyptians. I read as follows, in the Latin version of Abenuaschia; *Meminerunt Philosophi Ægyptii, quod erant ipsis septem numeri in magna veneratione, quos et septem diis eorum consecrabant, videlicet Saturno, Jovi, Rephan sive Marti, Soli, Veneri, Mercurio, et Lunæ.* Again, as may be seen from the Œdipus of Kircher, Moloch was the Egyptian appellation not only for Mars, but for Hercules.

It seems hopeless then to derive the name of Hercules from any of the names by which he was known in Egypt. Let us now turn our attention to Phœnicia. Every one knows the extreme antiquity

of the worship of Hercules at Tyre, where, it may be presumed, his temple was as old as the city itself. Here, however, Hercules was known by the name of *Melicertus*. The old and common etymology which is given of this word, is מלך קרתא, *the king of city*. Selden gives another, and derives Melicertus from *Melicaritz*, *the strong or mighty king*. It is, however, impossible to discern the slightest resemblance between the names of Hercules and Melicertus. Let us then proceed to draw aside the veil of these mysteries, and to show how all these deities, of which I have been speaking, were considered as one. This will quickly lead us to the real etymology of Hercules and Ηρακλης.

The sun, then, was the object of heathen adoration, under all the appellations which I have mentioned. This luminary was represented by numerous imaginary beings, that were feigned to be the symbols of his attributes; and he received different names at different seasons of the year, at the summer and at the winter solstice, at the equinoxes, and while he passed in his annual course through the signs of the zodiac.

Before I advance further, however, it is necessary to observe, that I mean to confine myself to mythology, as it is connected with astronomy. Macrobius has induced many into error, by not mentioning that the fables of which he speaks might be classed under other heads, as has been done by Sallust the philosopher.

The attributes of the sun were expressed by innumerable types in the astronomical fables; and the rites which were celebrated in his honour were as various as the seasons. The festival of Dionysius (Ηλίας ον Διονυσον επικλησιν καλεουσιν) was celebrated by his votaries in the spring (Διονυσιαν εορην εν τω εαρι επιελεγειναι) with that extravagant licentiousness, which too often characterises the manners of southern nations. Who indeed has not heard of the mad orgies of these fanatics, when, crowned with ivy, and bearing in their hands their *thyrsi* and their *phalli*, they danced to the sound of drums, of tabors,



and of timbrels, and made the air ring with shouts of joy, while they celebrated the return and the triumph of Bacchus?

Very different from this was the scene when the sun had descended, after the autumnal equinox, to the lower hemisphere. Then his name was associated with sadness; his adoration with dismay and terror; and still, as his retiring orb approached towards the winter solstice, the fears of superstition augmented with the gloom of nature. Pæans were no longer sung to him who had been hailed *Ἀλεξίμακος*, *the averter of evil*; but the women of Judah wept for Thammuz; the Assyrians mourned by the stream of Adonis for the death of their lord; the children were passed through the fire to Moloch in Tophet; and human victims were immolated to Saturn at Tyre and at Carthage.

It was chiefly, however, in the division of the year, between the winter and summer months, that the worship and appellations of the sun appear to have differed. In Egypt, Rephan, Serapis, Harpocrates, Moloch, and Chon, were particularly worshipped as symbols of the sun during the winter months.

1. The star of the giant Rephan was the sun, and Rephan was the god of time; but as the divisions of time are apparently determined by the sun, Saturn came to be considered as a solar symbol. *Saturnus ipse*, asks Macrobius, *qui auctor est temporum, quid aliud nisi Sol intelligendus est?* We learn from the same author that the month of December was peculiarly sacred to Saturn. This deity, however, was esteemed as supreme, and as the chief of the gods, for in the words of Dionysius, he embraces the whole nature of the universe. Nor indeed was Rephan different, unless by name, from those other symbols of the sun, which were adored as Saturn, or Hercules, or Mars. (*Vide Kircher. Œdip. et Seld. de Diis Syr.*)

2. Serapis, as we are informed by Plutarch, was the same with Pluto; and this last was no other than the sun:

Εἰς Ζεὺς, εἰς Ἀδης, εἰς Ἥλιος, εἰς Διόνυσος.

Porphyry tells us, that Pluto was considered as the sun after it descends to the lower hemisphere, and pursues its course round what he calls *the winter tropics*. The idols of Serapis, like those of Saturn, were not admitted by the ancient Egyptians into their temples.

Various are the etymologies which have been given of the name of *Serapis*, by Cyril, Kircher, Jablonski, and others. The etymology which I would propose, is as follows: *Aser*, as I learn from Montanus, was an appellation given to different gods. This word is originally Hebrew, and signifies rich, or happy; but by degrees it seems to have been used for God. My learned readers will distinguish it from *Asara*, which, as I shall show in another place, was one of the appellations of Thammuz. It might then be, that *Aser-Apis* signified the god Apis, and that by dropping the initial *aleph*, as often happens, he was called *Serapis*.

3. According to Plutarch, Harpocrates was the son of Osiris and Isis. The images which remain of this god, plainly denote him to be a solar symbol. The rays round the head, the ibis, the serpent, and the dog, all typify the sun. It would appear, however, from the *cornucopia* and the *persea*, that Harpocrates represented the sun after the autumnal equinox, when the waters of the Nile have retired, and Egypt abounds with fruits. At this season the Egyptians mourned the death of Osiris, and the finger on the lip of the image of Harpocrates might be symbolical of the silence of the shades below, whither Pluto was feigned to have driven the chariot of the sun.

4. I have already shown, that Moloch was the Egyptian Mars. The sun was pictured by fancy, as struggling before the vernal equinox to force his way, by daily efforts, to the superior hemisphere; and in allusion to this notion, he was typified by a ram butting with his horns. In the same season he was represented as the god of war and destruction; but as he was supposed finally to triumph, he

was called Moloch, *rex*, by the Egyptians, and Mavors, *imperator*, by the Etruscans.

5. Chon, or Hercules, who was worshipped in Egypt from the most remote antiquity, as appears from Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, represented the sun in his annual course. Porphyry has clearly indicated, that the twelve labours of this hero were symbolical of the twelve signs of the zodiac: Δώδεκα δ' ἄθλους ἐκμοχθεὶν ἐμυθοποίησαν, τῆς καλῆς τῶν ὕρανων διαίρεσεως τῶν ζῳδίων τοῦ συμβόλου ἐπιφημισαυτές. Hercules was therefore considered by the Egyptians as the universal sun, whose power enters and pervades every thing, and they called him τὸν ἐν πασὶ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἥλιον.

It appears, however, that when Hercules took his place among the twelve greater gods of Egypt, he was also held to be a type of the winter sun, and as such was worshipped as the same with Rephan and Moloch. This vestige of Egyptian mythology may be found among the Etruscans. Macrobius states that among the priests, Hercules and Mars were held to be the same; and he therefore justifies the accuracy of Virgil, who represents the *Salii* as singing the praises of Hercules. The same author has likewise remarked, that the Chaldeans gave the name of Hercules to the planet which has been called Mars by other nations.

That Hercules was considered as the same with Saturn by the Egyptians, appears indubitable; nor could it be otherwise, since both were solar symbols, and peculiarly in the winter season. Orpheus, or the author who wrote under the name of Orpheus, was evidently deeply versed in the mythology of Egypt, and he addresses Hercules Παμφαγῆς, παγγενέτωρ, *all-devouring, all-begetting*, which epithets are clearly given to him as the god of time. It may be further asserted on the authority of Athenagoras, who flourished in the second century, that Orpheus held Hercules and Saturn to be the same. The Apologist states the opinion of Orpheus, concerning the generation of all things from water, in the following words: Ἦν γὰρ ὕδωρ

αρχη καὶ αὐτὸν τοῖς ὀλοῖς, ἀπο δὲ τῆ υδατος ἰλὺς καλεσθῆ ἐκ δὲ ἐκατέρων, ἐγενήθη ζῶον δράκων προσπεφυκυῖαν ἔχων κεφαλὴν λέοντος. Διὰ μέσθ δὲ αὐτῶν θεὸς προσώπου ὀνομα Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Κρονος.

We may further remark, that the Phœnician name of Hercules corresponds sufficiently with the Latin name of Saturnus. Both Hercules and Saturn were types of the winter sun. When this luminary hides himself, as it were, for the greater number of hours out of the twenty-four, it is not surprising, that he should be called Saturn, for this word evidently comes from the Hebrew סַטֻר *satur*, *latuit*.

The Phœnician Hercules was called, as I have before mentioned, Melicertus. I think this word is composed of מֶלֶךְ *Melec*, *rex*, and עֶרֶץ *eretz*, *terra*, and means the king of the earth, or the terrestrial king. Thus Jupiter, considered as the summer and as the winter sun, was called *ερανος τε καὶ χθονιος*, celestial and terrestrial. Pluto represented the sun in the lower hemisphere; and Cicero says, *terrena autem vis omnis, atque natura Diti patri dedicata est*,

That Hercules was considered as the type of the winter sun by the Greeks and Romans, is evident from signs which cannot be mistaken. The lion's skin indicated the season when in the early ages men were accustomed to clothe themselves with the hides of beasts. The club which Hercules bore, and which he presented annually to the son of Maia, who returned it to him covered with leaves, represents, by an elegant allegory, the leafless branches which are covered with foliage, when vegetation returns with the genial days of spring. The abode of Hercules was feigned by the poets to be on the summit of the Alps, amidst eternal snows:

*Alpibus æriis, ubi Graio nomine vulsæ  
Ascendunt rupes, nec se patiuntur adiri,  
Est locus Herculeis aris sacer. Hunc nive dura  
Claudit hyems, canoque ad sidera vertice tollit.*

But Hercules, if I may be permitted to speak in the obscure lan-

guage of mythology, did not always abide with Typhon. He returned with Horus, who rules over the seasons, when that God resumed his station in the sign of *Taurus*. To throw aside the allegory, Hercules was worshipped by the Egyptians, as the sun whose power pervades all things, and which lasts through all the seasons. To him many things were ascribed, though his labours were generally supposed to be limited to twelve, since these indicated the course of the sun through the signs of the zodiac. *Nam cum plura fecerit duodecim ei tantum adsignantur propter agnita duodecim signa.* (*Servius*.) Without recapitulating my proofs, therefore, I may state, that the Egyptians, who adored him beyond all memory, considered him as the universal sun. In all the seasons, in all the months, in the effects of the solar heat, in the power of gravity in the solar mass, they acknowledged and worshipped Hercules, both as the moral and physical cause. *Verum sacratissima et augustissima Ægyptii eum religione venerantur, utraque memoriam quæ apud illos retro longissima est, ut carentem initiis colunt. Ipse creditur et gigantes interemisse cum cælo propugnaret, quasi virtus Deorum* (*Macrobius*). *Sed nec Hercules a substantia solis alienus est,* says the same author a little before, *quippe Hercules ea est solis potestas, quæ humano generi virtutem ad similitudinem præstat Deorum.* It is certain, Warburton observes, that the Egyptians taught that the sun is in the centre of its system, and that all the other bodies move round it in perpetual revolutions. This learned prelate might have added, that the Egyptians considered the sun as the physical cause of the revolutions of the planets. (*See Clemens Alexandrinus Strom. L. 5. Macrobius in Somm. Scip. L. 1. C. 19, et les Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript. T. 9*). Nor did the Egyptians hesitate to attribute intelligence to Hercules in a yet higher degree than physical force: *Hercules*, says *Servius*, *a prudentioribus mente magis quam corpore fortis inducitur.*

Having made these observations, I shall now proceed to consider the etymology of Hercules. The worship of this god was unques-

tionably introduced into Rome by Numa, in imitation of the Etruscans. (See Servius on the eighth book of the *Æneid*.) We must search then, in the first instance, for the Etruscan name of Hercules, and this I find, from various coins exhibited by Dempster and others, to have been generally written *Hercle*. On one very ancient coin, exhibited by Guarnaci, I find *Hercul*, or rather *Herchul*. Now this appears to me to be Phœnician. I am aware of the objections which many learned men are disposed to make to such etymologies. Is it not absurd, they ask, to trace the name of a place in the *Campania Felix* to the Phœnician language? I propose to dedicate an entire dissertation to the consideration of this question; and in the mean time I shall proceed with my etymology. The word אור, *aor*, or *aur*, in Hebrew, is translated sometimes *fire*, and sometimes *light*. It is, however, twice used in the book of Job for the *sun*, and ought to be so rendered. Now the Egyptian was certainly originally a dialect of the Hebrew, and the word *hor*, signified the sun. When Salmasius fancied, that *hor* meant king, or lord, he was misled by the epithets of *Melech* and *Adonai*, which were given to that luminary. *Hor* is too similar in sound to *aor* to leave a doubt on the derivation. It may even be well questioned, whether the initial *aleph* here, were not a simple aspirate, and whether the word were not pronounced *hor*. Be this as it may, I can have no doubt that *aor* is the root in the first syllable of Hercules.

I have no great difficulty then in deciding that *Hercul*, or Hercules, is derived from *hor*, and חול, *chul*, or *chol*, which signifies *universal*. In allowing for those changes in the sounds of vowels, and of mutable consonants, which may be observed in the pronunciation of all languages, we have in the word *Hercul*, the expression of that mighty and universal fire, which the Pagans adored as the source of heat, of light, and of life, and which exists in all things, and pervades all.

Martorelli has given an etymology of Herculaneum which I can by no means admit. *Cum igitur constet*, says he, *vetustissimis tempo-*

*ribus Vesuvium ignem eructasse, nemo mihi prohibeat, quominus vocem Ηρακλειον educam, non ab Ηρακλῆς unde Græculi facile trahunt, sed a bina κυριαρχία voce קלוי קלוי quæ sunt eadem elementa ac Graia, valentque pregnans igne, sive concipiens ignem, quod apprime convenit Herculaneo.* If Vesuvius had been called pregnant with fire, the appellation might have been justly applied. It is not so obvious why this name should have been given to the town which stood near it. Besides קלוי does not signify fire; it is used adjectively, and signifies *parched*.

The authors of the work, which was published under the name of Sir William Hamilton, tell us that Herculaneum *est exprimé par un nom qui signifie ardens igne*. They probably then derived Herculaneum from אור and קל; but surely these learned authors (and very learned they certainly were, since M. D'Italinski, a name illustrious in the Republic of Letters, was one of them) had forgotten that men do not build towns only to have them burned down again; and that no people in their senses would found a city to give it such a name as *ardens igne*.

Mr. Hayter has proposed to derive Herculaneum from *her* and *koli*, which he would render *the burning mountain*; and he thinks that the city received its name from Vesuvius, which might have well obtained this denomination.

I am clearly of opinion, however, that Herculaneum was so called from Hercules. This city was probably built by the Osci; and we know that Hercules was worshipped by the Etruscans. But the fact which seems to decide the question, is the number of coins which have been found among the ruins with the head and the attributes of Hercules stamped upon them. The ancient coin, to which I have already alluded, had not only the image, but the name of *Herchul* stamped upon it; and if I be rightly informed, it was found at Herculaneum, whence, I believe, it was transferred to the cabinet of Passari.

DISSERTATION IV.

*On some Inscriptions found among the Ruins of Herculaneum.*

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BY THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM DRUMMOND.

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AFTER having had leisure to examine the various inscriptions which have been found at Herculaneum, and which have been exhibited by Capaccio, Reinesius, Gruter, Venuti, Passari, Maffei, Muratori, and other writers, I have not thought that there were more than three or four, which it could be interesting to the readers of these Dissertations to examine with any peculiar attention.



## I.

PRIDIE . K. MARTIAS . IN . CVR . SCRIBENDO . ADFVERE .  
 CVNCTI . QVOD . VERBA . FACTA . SVNT . M. M. MEM-  
 MIOS . RVFOS . PAT. ET . FIL. ET . VIRI . ITER . PEQVNTIA .  
 PONDERALI . ET . CHALCIDICVM . ET . SCHOLAM . SE-  
 CVNDVM . MVNICIP . SPLENDOREM . FECISSE . QVÆ .  
 TVERI . PVBLICE . DECRETO . D. E. R. I. C. PLACERE .  
 HVIC . ORDINI . CVM . M. M. RVFI . PAT. ET . FIL. II. VI-  
 RITER . IN . EDENDIS . MVNERIBUS . ADEO . LIBERALES .  
 FVERINT . VT . EORVM . MONVMENTA . DECORI . MVNI-  
 CIPIO . SINT . ADEO . DILIGENTES . VT . VITIEIS . PONDE-  
 RVN . OCCVRRERINT . IDQ. IN . PERPETVVM . PROVE-  
 DERINT . PLACERE . DECVRIONIB. M. M. MEMMIOS .  
 RVFOS . PAT. ET . FIL. DVM. II. VIVERENT . EORVM .  
 POS . . . . M. ET . SCHOLA . ET . CHALCIDI . QVÆ . IPSI .  
 FECISSENT . PROCVRATIONEM . DARI . VTIQVE . SERVOS .  
 EIVS . . . . . MPIVS . EST . . . . . NEGOTIO . PRÆPONE-  
 RENT . NEQVE . INDE . ABDVCI . SINE . DECVRIONVM .  
 DECRETO . ET . M. M. MEMMIIS . RVFIS . PAT. ET . FIL.  
 PVBLICE . GRATIAS . AGEI . QVOD . ITERATIONI . HONORI .  
 EORVM . NON . AMBITIONEI . NEQVE . IACTATIONI .  
 SVÆ . DEBERINT . SED . IN . CVLTVN . MVNICIPI . ET .  
 DECOREM . CONTVLERINT.

(This inscription was found on a stone table, and has been exhibited by Capacio, *Hist. Neapol.* L. 2. C. 9, and by Reinesius, *Class.* 7, p. 484.)

## F

## II.

L. MVNATIO . CONCESSIONANO . V. P. PATRONO . COLONIAE . PRO . MERITIS . EIVS . ERGA . CIVES . MVNIFICAT . LARGITATE . OLIM . HONOREM . DEVOTVM . PRÆSTANTISSIMO . VIRO . PRÆSENS . TEMPVS . EXEGIT . QVO . ETIAM . MVNATI . CONCESSIONANI . FILII . SVI . DE . MARCHIA . CVMVLATIORE . SVMPTV . LIBERALITATIS . ABVNDANTIA . VNIVERSIS . EXIBVIT . CIVIBVS . OB . QUÆ . TESTEMONIA . AMORIS . SINCERRISSIMI . REG . PRIMARIA . SPLENDIDISSIMA . HERCVLANENSIVM . PATRONO . MIRABILI . STATVAM . PONENDAM . DECREVIT .

(This inscription was written on stone. See Walchius, page 5.)

The first thing which strikes us in reading these two inscriptions, is, that in the one Herculaneum seems to be considered as a *municipium*, and in the other as a colony. I have endeavoured to show, in a former dissertation, that it was a colony; nor has the examination of these two inscriptions altered my opinion. It appears that the colonies might be divided into three classes: *Romanorum coloniae*, says Capacio, *tripliciter distinguuntur: una enim est, in qua Romani deducti soli habitabant; alia, in qua Romani et alii; tertia, in qua etsi barbari incolabant, Romanorum tamen legibus obstringebantur*. Now it is probable, that Herculaneum belonged to the second class, for it had been inhabited by the Osci, Pelasgi, Tyrrheni, and Samnites, before it fell into the hands of the Romans. This point being settled, we shall have no difficulty in reconciling our two inscriptions. The colonies were all governed according to the *jus Romanum*, as is observed by Capacio; but the ancient inhabitants seem to have still called themselves *municipes*, and their cities *municipia*, when the *jus Latinum*

ceased to be their jurisprudence. Thus *Herculaneum*, which was properly a colony, continued to be called a *municipium* by many of its inhabitants. The same thing may be remarked of other towns. Livy mentions (L. IX.) that a colony was sent to Suessa (*ann. urb.* 440.), and yet Cicero, in observing that colonists had been established at Suessa, calls it a *municipium* (*Philipp.* 13.). In the inscriptions exhibited by Spon, Ortona is named both a colony and a *municipium*; and many monuments attest the same thing of Naples, which Capacio thinks was a colony of the third class, and which, I believe, was not considered as such until after the promulgation of the Julian law.

I can say nothing more of these two inscriptions, which has not been already anticipated by Reinesius and Walchius. (*Reines. Syntag. Antiq.* pag. 484; *Walch. Antiq. Hercul.* pag. 6.).

### III.

The inscription of which I am now going to speak, is the only one which is written in Etruscan among all those which have been found at *Herculaneum*. For want of types, I am obliged to exhibit it in Roman characters. The first edition of it I take from Passeri.

HERENTATEIS . SVM .

L. SLABIIS . L. AVKIL . MERRISS. TVCTIKS .

HERENTATE . . . . PRVKINAI . PRVFFER.

In the original the letter H, and some others which are not legible, intervene between *Herentate* and *Prukinai*. Passeri and Walchius thus render the inscription: *Junonalis sum. L. Slabius, L. Aukilius, Mediastutici. Junonali prepositi custodes proferunt*. But the derivation of *Herentateis* from *Hep̄* is inadmissible. The Etruscans never called Juno by the name of *Here*.

Mr. Hayter reads

HERENTATEIS . SVM .  
 L. SLABES . L. AVKIL . MEDDISS. TVKTISS .  
 HERENTATEN . HERVKINAI . PRVFFED.

l. e.

Sacra tabula sum.

*Lucius Slabes, Lucius Aquilius, magistratus*  
*Sacram tabulam Erycinæ proferunt.*

In the original, the letter which Mr. Hayter reads D, is the Roman R reversed. Now, although it be easily granted that the Romans often changed the Etruscan R into D, yet I cannot therefore suppose that the R reversed was ever used for D in Etruscan. In the last line he has omitted the P, which Passeri and Lanzi, in their editions of the original, place before the R; I must, therefore, conclude that Mr. Hayter had read E where these authors read P. The H certainly stands at a considerable distance.

The edition of the original given by Lanzi is very nearly correct; but his interpretation is not the less objectionable.

HERENTATEIS SVM .  
 L. SLABE . LAVKIL . MERRISS. TVBTIKS.  
 HERENTATE . H. P . . . PRVKINAI . PRVPHPER .  
 l. e.

He derives *Herentateis* from *ιερος*, and proposes to read *Herentateis-sum*, in one word, which he would render *sacerdotum*. *Prukinai*, he would have a proper name.

In examining the remains of any language, of which we know little, it is natural to seek for some guidance from other tongues of which we know more. There may be just reason to think, that the most ancient Etruscan had a strong affinity with the most ancient Greek, and yet a stronger with the Lydian. I speak only of the

written Etruscan, and not of that language, which some have supposed to have been spoken in Italy, before the arrival of the Lydian and Pelasgian colonies. The Etruscan of later times may be supposed to have differed from that which was anciently spoken, since, in the course of ages, this happens with every living language; and the resemblance with old Latin may be more naturally sought for in the more modern, than in the more ancient Etruscan. With all this, however, we must not fail to observe, that there were several dialects of this language. The Pelasgi, who were driven from Greece, to take shelter where their countrymen, the Tyrrheni, had already found an asylum, would probably introduce many Hellenisms into the original Lydian dialect. This might the more easily happen, that the Greek tongue itself probably sprang from the Lydian, which not less probably was a Phœnician dialect. For these affirmations, I shall endeavour to account in a future dissertation; but if I be right in my conjectures, the consequence will be, that the Etruscan will partake more or less of the Phœnician, the Greek, and the Latin, according to the age to which we refer. In the inscription before us, there seems to me to be an evident mixture of the three languages. It was found upon a marble table, and the first words are removed by a considerable interval from those below them.

*Herentateis sum.* I agree with Mr. Hayter in the interpretation which he gives of these words: *Sacra tabula sum.* I have sought for the etymology, and it brings us nearly to the same thing. *Herentateis* is a corruption from  $\text{ערן}$ , *eron*, or *arun*, and  $\text{טאט}$ , *tat*, *arca* (*aut tabula*) *expurgatoria* (*aut sacra*).

*Merriss tubtichs Meddixtutici.* This last word is used by Livy (Lib. XXVI. C. 6.); but we see how it was originally written by the Etruscans, though the Romans, according to their custom, changed the R into D. Camillus Peregrinus observes, on the authority of Ennius and Festus, that *meddix* signified *magistratus*; and he rightly understands *tuticus* to mean *magnus*. Now *merrisstubtichs*, which had

the same meaning with *Meddixutici*, may be easily derived from the ancient Oriental tongues. מֵרָא, *mera* in Chaldaic, מֵר, *mer* in Hebrew, and מֵרִי, *meri* in Syriac, signify *dominus*. Here then we have the root of the Etruscan word, which was *merriss* in the plural, and *merris* in the singular. My reader will observe, that I do not follow the Masoretic punctuation of the Hebrew, and, indeed, I consider it of little authority. The subsequent word, in our inscription, is *tubtichs*; it is composed of טוֹב, *tub*, *bonus*, *præstans*, and תִּיךְ, *tich*, *gradus*, *status*, *conditio*. This last word, I shall be told, and I shall easily admit, is not to be found in the remains which we have either of Hebrew, or of Phœnician; but it has been employed by the Rabbins, and seems to be legitimate Hebrew, for its root is תָּכַן, *tachen*. We may thus render *merriss tubtiks*, *lords of eminent rank*.

*Prukinai pruffer*. The first of these two words, I suppose with Passeri to be a corruption from the Greek. *Pruffer* easily explains itself in Latin.

I render the whole inscription according to the etymology :

*Arca expurgatoria sum.*

*L. Slabius, L. Aquilius, domini dignitate præstantes,*

*Arcam expurgatoriam . . . . . pro communitate proferunt.*

The *hiatus* was probably filled up with the name of the deity to whom the offering was made. Of the letters which still remain, H is the only one distinctly legible, and as it begins the word defaced, we may read HERCLE, and translate *Herculi*.

Mr. Hayter has shown me an inscription, which was found on a marble between Pompeii and Herculaneum, and which, he thinks, belonged to a bidental. I must give this inscription in Roman characters, for the reason already assigned; but as I read it differently from him, I shall exhibit our different editions of it. Mr. Hayter reads,

*Nitrebes . tr . med . tuch .*

*a . aman . aphphed .*

i. e.

*Nitrebes ter meddis tuticus*

*septo conclusit.*

The bidental, as he justly observes, was the inclosure which surrounded the altar, which was placed on the spot struck by lightning. It would seem, that he brings *aman aphphad* from *amah*, אַמָּה, which is sometimes used to signify *posts, palisadoes* (Jesa C. 4.), and אַפְּפָד, *ephod*, to girt round, to inclose. This appears to me, at least, to have been the etymology which he must have adopted. I must venture, however, to follow another reading, and consequently to give another interpretation.

I read,

NITREBES . TR . MER . TVB.

A . AMAN . AFFER.

and I translate,

*Nitrebes, ter meddis tuticus,*

*Aulo Amanio affert (vel offert).*

I shall now refer my readers to the plates at the end of the volume. In the first I have given the best *fac simile* I could of these two Etruscan inscriptions. In the second, my readers may compare the Etruscan alphabet, which I have adopted, with those given by former writers, and they will judge from these specimens of the extreme difficulty which must occur in reading the Etruscan, Samnite, Volscan, and Oscan characters. The third plate will exhibit letters in various languages, with which the forms of the Etruscan characters may be compared.

## DISSERTATION V.

*On the Names of Places in the Campania Felix being frequently derived from the Phœnician.*

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BY THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM DRUMMOND.

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IN a former dissertation, I endeavoured to prove that Herculaneum was derived from Hercules, and that Hercules was a Phœnician word, which signified *the universal fire*. It is my intention, at present, to show in what manner many names of places of Phœnician origin existed, and still exist, in that district which was anciently called the *Campania Felix*. This discussion appears to me to be the more necessary and the more interesting, that several learned men have spoken with contempt of some respectable authors, who have derived the names of places in Italy from the Phœnician. *Super talibus*, says Heyne, *itaque populorum aut terrarum nominibus docte quidem multa argutari potest, sed plerumque inaniter; multo magis si Phœnicia nomina expiscari et enodare volumus, quo quidem genere nihil vidi quod magis esset lubricum*. If, however, I can show, by a connected series of events, that the *Campania Felix* was occupied by a people descended from the Phœnicians, until it was conquered by the Romans; and if I can prove the names of several places in that district to bear a singular resemblance to Phœnician words which would be descriptive and appropriate, I shall not easily cede the point to the learned critic whose words I have cited.



Italy appears to have been peopled by different colonies, which arrived at different periods from Sicily, from Africa, from Greece, and from Asia. As it is my object, however, in this dissertation, to show that the ancient inhabitants of the *Campania Felix* probably spoke a dialect of the Phœnician, I shall not enter into any discussion concerning other tribes, that do not appear to have had any possessions in that country. My subject will, nevertheless, require, that I trace, as far back as possible, the history of the *Osci*, the *Tyrrheni*, the *Pelasgi*, and the *Samnites*, who, as it appears from Strabo, successively occupied the country about Pompeia and Herculaneum, and by whom, in spite of the fables which have been idly recorded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Diodorus Siculus, we may reasonably conclude those cities to have been founded. The investigation, I am afraid, must be long ; but I shall endeavour to render it as little tedious as I can. I propose to begin my inquiries with the Phœnicians ; I shall then proceed to show, that one of their colonies was established in Lydia ; that the Lydians sent a colony into Italy, which took possession of Umbria and Etruria ; and, finally, that the *Osci*, *Tyrrheni*, *Pelasgi*, and *Samnites*, were descended from those same Lydians, and consequently retained much of the Phœnician in the Etruscan dialect, which they continued to speak, until the Romans gave their laws and their language to the conquered provinces of Italy.

## PART FIRST.

*Sect. I.*—The Greeks believed, from the time of Herodotus to that of Strabo, that the Phœnicians had originally come from the coast of the Red Sea. This opinion seems to have been not less generally received among the Romans, and accordingly we find it adopted by Pliny and Solinus. Some modern authors, however, have treated it as an idle conjecture. Thus Bochart objects to the authority of Herodotus, because he got his information from the Persians, who were comparatively a recent people; because the Tyrians, among whom the historian had passed some time, were silent on the subject; and because his account is contradicted by that which is given by Sanchoniatho. In answer to the first of these objections I would observe, that the antiquity of the Persian empire is to be traced to a period much more remote than the age of Cyrus, who, as Sir William Jones has proved, was rather the restorer than the founder of the greatness of his country. Secondly, it may be observed, the Phœnicians, like other Oriental nations, indulged an excessive vanity concerning the antiquity of their origin. Herodotus could not be ignorant of the fables which they related on this subject, and he showed his good sense in rather appealing to the impartial evidence of strangers. The third objection is even of less weight than those which preceded it. Whatever is genuine in the fragments of Sanchoniatho does little honour to the judgment of that ancient Phœnician; and it is in vain to speak of authentic history, if credit be given to the manifest interpolations of Philo of Byblos.

We know, from a less questionable authority, that Canaan and his descendants were the original inhabitants of Phœnicia, and that Ham,

the father of Canaan, was the great progenitor of the Egyptians and Ethiopians. It is probable, however, that the Persians, and after them the Greeks and Romans, did not refer to so early a period. The riches of the Phœnicians seem to have soon exposed them to attacks from all their neighbours; but we must believe that Canaan had already become *the servant of servants*, before the country in which he lived had changed its name, and before Sidon had engrossed the commerce of the East. Many authors are of opinion, that the whole of Phœnicia was conquered by the Edomites and the Cushites, who had indeed come from countries bordering on the Red Sea. I am, however, more inclined to believe that Phœnicia became a province of Egypt during the reign of Sesostris; and I enter into the inquiry, because it may not be fruitless to the antiquaries of Italy, who have been struck with the resemblance which in some instances existed between the mythology of the Egyptians and the Etruscans. Many vestiges of the arts, the learning, and the religion of Egypt are certainly to be traced among the Phœnicians. The inhabitants of Sidon excelled in weaving fine linen, and in making glass, for which the Egyptians were likewise famous. In Egypt, the art of dying cloth was known from the earliest period of history; and the Phœnician purple was not more celebrated than the Egyptian scarlet. The Phœnicians, like the Egyptians, were long strangers to the art of navigation, which they afterwards carried to so much perfection; for, according to the Eusebian Chronicle, the Lydians, Pelasgians, Thracians, Rhodians, and Phrygians had successively obtained the dominion of the sea, before it had been navigated by the ships of Sidon. *Taaut*, or *Thoth*, who instructed the Phœnicians in the use of letters, was the son of *Misor*, a king of Egypt; and I ought to remark, that Kircher, Calmet, and other learned men, have proved the Egyptian and Phœnician characters to have been the same. In the fragments of Sanchoniatho, we find the mythology to be a rude copy from the Egyptian original. The cosmology is nearly the same.

Again, Thammuz and Astaroth were only different names for Osiris and Isis. Thammuz, or Adonis, was supposed to have been slain by one monster, and Osiris by another. At a certain season of the year their votaries wept for the death of both. Osiris was the symbol of the sun, and so surely was Thammuz, or *Baal-Samen*, the Lord of the Heavens. Astarte, or Astaroth, was the Phœnician name for Isis. The cow was sacred to both; each lamented annually the death of her lord; and each was considered as the symbol of the moon. Moloch and Hercules were Egyptian as well as Phœnician gods. That Saturn, the chief object of Phœnician veneration, was also adored by the Egyptians, may be proved from the inscription on the column dedicated to Osiris. In addition to these remarks, let it be observed, that Thammuz, as is fully proved by Selden and Kircher, was the name of an Egyptian king, who established the annual rite when the death of Osiris, was celebrated by the Egyptians; but the honour which was meant for Osiris was transferred, by a singular example of flattery, to the religious monarch himself, who had instituted the ceremony.

*Sect. II.*—From these observations, joined to the testimony of Herodotus, who says that the Phœnicians came from beyond the Red Sea (for so I understand him), I am inclined to think, that Phœnicia was subdued, and, in a great measure, peopled anew by the Egyptians. But whatever might have been the origin of the Phœnicians, there can be no question of their having afterwards become one of the most flourishing nations of the East. Their first colonial establishments appear to have been in Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, and the islands of the Archipelago. The learned Bochart has proved, that they afterwards established a colony in Caria; but I am unable to imagine why he confined this settlement to the left bank of the Meander. He himself has proved, that the word Lydia is derived from the Phœnician *lud*; and the names of many places in that country appear to me to be Phœnician. As, however, all of these

names were more or less altered by the Greeks, it is often extremely difficult to trace them to their origin. I shall venture, nevertheless, to give a few examples in support of my hypothesis.

1. The city of Colophon was situated between the river Caystrus and Mount Mimas. Strabo reports the Greek traditions concerning its foundation. This place was celebrated for producing a fine and peculiar kind of resin. Now the Hebrew word for this resin is חלבונה, *cholbona*, and it is so used by Moses. We may then conclude, that the name of the thing existed before the name of the place, and that the Phœnicians called the town by the name of the thing for which it was most remarkable. Colophon seems to me to have been a corruption from *Cholbona*, or *Cholbon*, or *Cholobon*.

2. Strabo describes Mysia, or Mæonia, as a country of which the fields had the appearance of being covered with cinders, and of which the rocks and mountains were of a black colour, as if from burning. Some people, says he, pretend that these effects were produced by fiery whirlwinds and thunderbolts, nor do they hesitate thence to relate the fable of Typhon. He then adds, Ξανθος δε και Αριμων τινα λεγει των τοπων τετων βασιλεια; but Zanthus says a certain Arimun was king of these regions. This Arimun was probably a fictitious name, derived from הריים *harim*, the heats which prevailed in Mysia.

3. If Bochart be right, in deriving Lydia from *lud*, and *lud* from *luz*, it follows, that those who gave this name to the country, were no strangers to Egypt, since the whole of Bochart's reasoning is founded on the supposition, that the Nile was called *Lud*, from its many windings, and that the same appellation was given, for the same reason to the Meander. Now the name of mount Timolus, or Timolus, appears to me to be Egyptian, nor will this appear extraordinary if my former statement be admitted.

The sign *oe* prefixed to Coptic nouns indicates either the masculine, or a feminine noun undetermined by the article. *Oemoleon* signifies *mola*, according to Kircher. May it not have originally signified

*moles* ? Etymologists, it is true, have generally derived the Latin *mola* from the Greek *μολη*, and *moles* from *mola*. This is to derive the general from the particular, which I hold to be as contrary to etymology as it is to all good reasoning. The Hebrew מלֵא is evidently the root ; for this word, which signifies plenitude, or multitude, expresses also a mass, or heap. If we cut off the *oe* from *oemoleon*, as the language would then require, and prefix the Coptic sign Γ, we shall have *Tmoeleon*. This brings us very near to the sound of *Tmolus*, which I imagine to have signified a mass, or mound, or hill, and from which the Latin word *tumulus* was probably derived.

4. Betwixt Erythra, and a precipice of which he had been speaking, Strabo tells us, was situated *Mimas*, a lofty mountain abounding with wild beasts, and covered with trees. Beyond, continues he, is the village Cybellia, and the Black Promontory, so called from the mill-stones which are cut out of it. This mountain, which is still called the Black Promontory, *Kara Bournu*, is situated in a peninsula, across the isthmus of which, as Pliny tells us, Alexander the Great had formed the design of cutting a canal. The mountain was easily converted into a giant by the poets, the more especially as it had received its name from a son of one of the kings of Lydia ; and many were the fables which were told of Mimas, who had rebelled against the gods, and was reckoned among the number of the Titans :

*Sed quid Typhæus et validus Mimas—  
Contra sonantem Palladis ægida  
Possent ruentes ?—* Hor.

Ὄρω τον δαῖον  
Μιμαῖα πυρι καίαιθλον. Eur.

מִימִי, or מִימִי signifies *giants*. The Phœnicians were accustomed to throw away the initial *aleph*. Mimas appears to have been once a volcano. Giants of fire will be expressed by מִימִי-שֵׁשׁ *Mi-*

*Mas.* The history of the rebellion and punishment of the Titans is nothing else than an allegorical account of volcanic eruptions; and the giants struck by the thunder of Jupiter will be generally found to be mountains which had thrown forth flames, whether in the fields of Phlægra, in Sicily, or in Lydia.

5. Harpocraton says, that Neleus was the founder of Erythra; Velleius, that it was Ion; Pausanias, that it was Erythrus; and Strabo, that it was Cnopus. These testimonies being so contradictory, the knowledge of the Greeks and Romans concerning the foundation and original name of this city may be fairly questioned. The word Erythra is certainly Greek, but Erythra was probably called Edom by the Phœnicians, before it received its new appellation from the Greeks; in the same manner as they gave the name of the Erythrean sea to the sea of Edom.

6. Corycus is a lofty mountain near to Teos, and not far from Erythra; it is said to abound with crocuses:

*Ultima Corycio quæ cadit aura croco:*

כרובים, *choruchim*, is the Hebrew for these flowers, and from this word, slightly changed by the Greeks, I conceive the mountain to have been named. Stephanus gives it the epithet of *rubens*.

7. Lebedus was not far distant from Erythra. I am inclined to derive it from לֵב, *leb*, dry, and אֶדֶם, *edom*, red; and to suppose that it might have been called originally לְאֶדְמַת־לֵב, *the dry red land*.

I could easily increase the number of these examples; but I wish, in the first instance, to know if those be approved of which I have already given. I shall now proceed to show the resemblance between the mythology and manners of the Phœnicians, the Lydians, and the Egyptians; and this resemblance is so strong, that it may tend to confirm my opinion concerning the origin of the two former.

*Sect. III.*—I am of opinion, in spite of the objections of Lucian, that the Syrian goddess, who was called the *magna mater* and the *mater*

*deorum*, was the same with Isis. Without entering into more abstruse mythological inquiries, we shall find enough to prove this position, in comparing the attributes of Isis and Cybele. The images of both were adorned with a crescent, and with a robe studded with stars. Lions were always attendant on the Syrian goddess; and a lion is represented at the feet of Isis on some of the Roman coins. The drum and the sistrum were sacred to Isis, and if we can trust to Bel-lorius, both these instruments were held in the hands of Cybele. Two serpents, according to Apuleius, were among the extraordinary ornaments which adorned the head of the Egyptian goddess, and the same singular attire was worn by the Lydian women, who were the votaries of the *magna mater*. Cybele likewise holds the *flagellum*, which was an Egyptian symbol, and which may be seen in the hands of Harpocrates, where he is represented as the *Deus Averruncus*, and is seated on the flower of the *lotus*. It appears, from Plutarch and Macrobius, that Isis was equally entitled with the Syrian goddess to be called the *Dea multimammia*, since she exhibited the same exuberant proofs of her nutritious qualities. The statues of Cybele and of the *Dea multimammia* were evidently copied from the Egyptian school of sculpture. The *calathus* was transferred from the head of Osiris to be placed on that of the Ephesian Diana, though this simple ornament was generally and easily changed into the form of a tower on the head of the *magna mater*. We frequently see a garland of flowers on the head of the images of the Ephesian Diana, and we know from Apuleius that Isis was represented with the same ornament. The sphinx was indubitably an Egyptian symbol, and we find it accompany several of the representations of Diana of Ephesus. Cybele wept annually for the misfortune of Atys, as Isis and Astaroth wept for the death of their lords. The priests of all these goddesses were habited alike; their rites were performed amidst the clamour of drums and trumpets; and the same silence was observed on their mysteries. Little doubt, I think, can now remain of these goddesses being



the same. I shall, however, add a few more testimonies, and shall conclude from them, that the religion of Egypt passed into Syria and Phœnicia, and thence into Asia Minor. *Inde primigenii Phryges Pessinunciam nominant Domini matrem . . . . . priscâque doctrinâ pollentes Ægyptii, ceremoniis me propriis percolentes, appellant vero nomine Reginam Isidem.* (*Apuleius.*) Pignorius, without collecting all the authorities which he might have done, has restored the true reading of a passage in Ulpian, as follows: *Matrem Deorum Sympelensem quæ Smyrnæ colitur.* Now, in the story which is told of Io, in the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, it is said that Io fled from Egypt, and took refuge on Mount Sipylus. Pausanias (Lib. III.) observes, that the *Magnesii*, a people who lived to the north of Mount Sipylus, had preserved an image of the mother of the gods from the most remote antiquity. In the league which was made between these same *Magnesii* and the people of Smyrna, and which is inscribed at length on one of the Arundel marbles, we find that both were accustomed, on such solemn occasions, to swear by Sipylenê, who was evidently no other than Cybele, or Isis. Aristides (Sacror. Serm. III.) openly speaks of the Isis of Smyrna, of her priest and her temple, and of the sacrifices which were offered to her as well as to Serapis. It is, indeed, evident, that under many names the Asiatics had been taught by the Egyptians to adore their goddess Isis, sometimes as the moon, sometimes as the earth, but more mystically as universal nature.

In the manners, as well as in the arts which they had acquired, these nations still exhibit a remarkable resemblance. According to Herodotus, the Lydians were the first people who coined money; but mention is so frequently made of gold and silver, in Genesis, after the journey of Abraham into Egypt, and of payments made in silver pieces, that the honour of the invention seems rather to be due to the Egyptians. The art of working in gold was carried to great perfection in Lydia, as is evident from Herodotus; and it was surely

not less known among the Egyptians, from whom the Hebrews borrowed so many precious ornaments. Mention is made in Pliny (Lib. XXXVII.) of an image of Serapis, nine cubits in height, and sculptured out of a single emerald. This proves that the Egyptians must have carried the manufacture of glass to singular perfection, since it is evident that this colossal statue could have been made of no other material, and it must have required great art to have given it such colour and brilliancy, as to make it pass for a precious stone. Theophrastus (*de Lapid.*) speaks of an emerald in Egypt, which was four cubits long and three broad. Herodotus says, he saw a column in the temple of Hercules at Tyre, which was composed of a single emerald; and Cedrenus (*Ann. p. 322.*) speaks of a statue of Minerva four cubits in height, cut out of a single emerald, which had been given to the Lydians by Sesostris. It seems to have been thought by Pausanias (*in Achaic.*), that the statue of Hercules at Erythra was of Egyptian workmanship. All the statues of the Ephesian Diana were evidently sculptured after the Egyptian model. The Hebrews probably learned the art of embroidering from the Egyptians; and we know from Homer, that the women, both of Sidon and of Asia Minor, excelled in works of this kind. From the manner in which the ark was ornamented, we may in like manner conclude, that the Egyptians had instructed the Hebrews in working hangings and curtains, which must have been of great beauty and value. The Phœnicians and Lydians were not less celebrated for their carpets and tapestries, as is testified by Heliodorus (Lib. VII.). We learn from Juvenal, that the priests of Isis were clothed in linen; and the same costume seems to have been adopted by the Asiatics during the performance of their religious ceremonies. Servius, in commenting on the words of Virgil—*puraque in veste sacerdos*, observes, that the priests, on occasions of peculiar solemnity, were accustomed to wear garments of purple linen. Telemachus says to Penelope,

—καθαρά χροι εἶμα θ' ἐλεσα  
Εὐχεο πασι θεοῖσι.

The reasons, indeed, which are assigned by Philostratus and Plutarch for this custom prevailing in Egypt, must have had equal influence in other countries, where there existed the same superstitions. Thoth, according to the Egyptians, was the inventor of music, and that art was considerably improved by the Lydians. In their religious ceremonies, the Egyptians introduced dancing, as appears from Apuleius, and in this their example was generally followed by the Asiatics, and particularly by the Lydians and Phrygians, as may be gathered from Lucretius and others who have described the *pomp* of Cybele. Herodotus says, the Lydians were the first people who established inns; but we know from Genesis, that inns existed in Egypt in the time of Joseph. The superstitions of the Egyptians concerning animals were not confined to themselves; the Phœnicians had the same abhorrence for swine; and they, as well as the Lydians, considered the cow as a sacred animal: this is apparent from the images of Moloch, and of the *Dea multimammia*. The cat was sacred to Isis, and the animals consecrated to Cybele and Bacchus were of the feline kind—lions, tigers, and panthers. The dog was considered as a sacred animal in Egypt. The Curetes and Corybantes sacrificed this animal to Diana, as is testified by the scholiasts of Theocritus and Lycophron, and by Suidas in the following words: Ζηρυνθιον, και Ζηρυνθον ανθρωπον, εν ω τας κυνας εθουν. ενθα ην τα των κορυβαιων, και της Εκωλης μυσθηρια. The Bassaræ, of whom I shall have occasion to speak in another section, wore, during the celebration of the mysteries, the skins of a species of dog called *alopecides*. The dog, as we learn from Aulus Gellius, was considered as the guardian of temples; nor is it necessary to prove, that the Phœnicians highly venerated the faithful companion of Adonis. It seems, then, that if Herodotus found the Egyptians unlike to all other people, it was

because, from the period when their country was subdued by Cambyzes, they had lost much of their former character. The political and military power of Egypt was gone with its sciences, arts, manufactures, and commerce; and nothing remained to its altered inhabitants, but their prejudices, their superstitions, and the decaying monuments of their ancient grandeur.

## PART SECOND.

*Sect. I.*—Almost all the writers of antiquity, who have had occasion to speak of the origin of the Tuscans, appear to have thought that they came from Lydia. From this opinion, however, Dionysius of Halicarnassus has dissented: and as I find that several eminent writers among the moderns have sided with him, I shall examine the principal arguments which he has adduced, and which they have supported.

Dionysius (Lib. I.) contends, that the *Tyrrheni* and the *Pelasgi* were not the same people. Here, indeed, he has to dispute, by his own confession, the testimony of the poets and historians of Greece, and to combat Thucydides, as well as Sophocles. He endeavours, however, to support his argument by the authority of Xanthus, of Hellanicus Lesbius, and of Myrsilus, though their opinions, as I shall soon show, are sufficiently contradictory: he argues with more force, on the statement of Herodotus, that the *Crotoniatæ* and the *Placiani*, who were descended from the *Pelasgi*, understood each other, while the language of the former was unintelligible to their neighbours; nor can I agree with the learned Freret, in thinking that he has here misrepresented or misunderstood Herodotus. I shall, however, endeavour to show that this argument is of no avail.

That the *Tyrrheni* and the *Pelasgi* were the same people, must rest chiefly on the authority of Thucydides and Herodotus. Myrsilus pretends that the word *Pelasgi* is a corruption from *Pelargi*, and that these people, after having abandoned their country, were named *Pelargi*, from the birds which are called *storks*. But Herodotus asserts, that the *Pelasgi* were so named before they left the shores of Asia Minor; and his assertion seems to be verified by the real ety-

mology of the word, which is Phœnician. According to this historian, the people of Lydia were anciently called *Pelasgi*, which, as my reader will find in the fragments of Sanchoniatho, is a corruption from *Palutgi*. This name was naturally given to themselves by the Phœnician colonists, for it seems to me to be a compound word, composed of פָּלִיט, *palit*, and גִּי, *goi*, and to signify the wandering, or perhaps rather, the banished people. There is no doubt, I believe, that the Phœnicians were forced frequently to emigrate; and especially at the period when the Jews invaded Palestine under Joshua. Hellanicus Lesbicus goes yet further than Myrsilus, for he maintains, that the *Tyrrheni* did not receive the name of *Pelasgi*, until they had been expelled from Greece by the *Hellenes*, and had settled in Italy; but if this be true, how came the Greek settlers in Italy to be known by a Phœnician appellation?

Dionysius tells us, that the descendants of the *Pelasgi* and the *Tyrrheni* spoke different languages. The reason is obvious why the inhabitants of Crotona spoke a peculiar dialect. The colony of Lydians under Tyrrhenus came, according to Herodotus, directly to Italy; but another colony of *Pelasgi*, as we learn from Apollodorus and others, settled in Arcadia, Epirus, and Thessaly, whence they were expelled by the Greeks; came to Italy, as Hellanicus asserts, and there built Crotona, as Dionysius admits. Now, these last colonists, who had dwelt for several generations, at least, in Greece, probably spoke a mixed language, partaking of the Hellenic and of the ancient Lydian, which, if my former statements be correct, must have been a dialect of the Phœnician: thus, there might have been, and there certainly were, different Etruscan dialects.

Dionysius holds the accounts of those authors, who maintain that the *Tyrrheni* were descended from the Lydians, to be utterly fabulous. He remarks, that while Herodotus calls Tyrrhenus the son of Atys, others suppose him the son of Hercules, and others the son of Telephus. He then cites the authority of Xanthus the Lydian against

Herodotus ; for, according to Xanthus, the sons of Atys were called Lydus and Torybus, and neither of these ever departed from Asia ; but it signifies little whether Herodotus were exact or not, in naming the Lydian chief who arrived with a colony in Italy. The truth seems to be, that the Greeks were accustomed to name the chief from the colony, and not the colony from the chief. Thus Pelasgus was the leader of those Pelasgi who settled in Arcadia, and Tyrrhenus received the appellation from the Tyrrheni, of whom he was the conductor. Those who maintained, that the Tyrrheni were aborigines, and that they were so called from the towers which they inhabited, fell, by the avowal of Dionysius himself, into a singular inconsistency, for, says he, *they think the name was given to them from the circumstance, as to the Mosynæci in Asia ; for these also dwell within lofty wooden palisades, resembling towers, which they call Mosynæ.* But from whom did these aborigines obtain this name ? If they gave it to themselves, it remains to be explained how they came to follow the Asiatics so closely in their mode of constructing their habitations, and in calling themselves from those same habitations. If the Greeks gave to them the name of Tyrrheni, it must be recollected that they also gave it to the Lydians, and to the ancient inhabitants of some of the isles, and of several parts of Greece itself ; and it would thence seem to follow, that the Greeks spoke, in all of these instances, of the same people, and that they thus universally confirmed the account given by Herodotus of the origin of the Etruscans. I mean not, however, to defend Herodotus, when he says the Tyrseni (*i. e.* the Tyrrheni) were so named from Tyrsenus (*i. e.* Tyrrhenus), and only desire to show, that he was accurate in his general statement ; nor do I think that Xanthus has proved himself in this instance to be more worthy of credit than the Greek historian. Herodotus erred, it seems, in deriving the name of a people from the name of a man, when that name was only given to the man because he was the chief of a people ; but are we in the regions of fable, or not, when

Xanthus gravely tells us that the *Torybi* are descended from *Torybus*, and the *Lydians* from *Lydus*? His silence on the departure of a colony from *Lydia* is not sufficient to overthrow the numerous testimonies to the contrary, which are offered to us by the most impartial writers of Greece and Rome. Strabo, who is generally acknowledged to be an accurate writer, and who lived in the same age with *Dionysius*, relates (*Lib. V.*), without comment, the story accredited by the Greeks. The antiquities of Italy must have been studied with no common attention by *Virgil* and his commentator *Servius*; and both bear repeated testimonies to the truth of the general opinion. If *Dionysius* had been considered by the ancients as accurate upon this point, there would surely have been some of them who would have denied that the *Etruscans* were descended from the *Lydians*; but we find this to be still asserted after his time by the most illustrious writers, and among the rest by *Pliny* and by *Tacitus*. The vanity of proving the Romans to be of Greek origin misled *Dionysius*. He avows it to be his object in his proëmium, and he sacrificed to it that good sense, which so often and so highly distinguishes him in other instances, both as a critic and as an historian.

*Sect. II.* From the statement which I have made in the preceding section, I should perhaps consider myself as justifiable, if I were to pass over without further notice the remaining arguments of *Dionysius*; but when I reflect, that these are not only the strongest which he has advanced, but that they are supported by such men as *Bochart*, *Cluverius*, and *Freret*, I feel it incumbent on me to answer them before I conclude that the *Lydians* were the progenitors of the *Etruscans*, from whom, I am inclined to think, the founders of the Roman commonwealth were themselves descended, and to whom, I trust, I shall be able certainly to trace the inhabitants of the *Campania Felix*.

Those who have examined the *Tabule Eugubinae*, and other Etruscan monuments, will probably pause, before they acknowledge to



Dionysius that no resemblance existed between the language of the Tyrrheni, and that of the Lydians, who spoke, as I have endeavoured to prove, a Phœnician dialect. In the *Tabulæ Eugubineæ*, which my reader will find copied and translated by Lanzi; in the Tables of Avella published by Passeri; and finally in the inscriptions exhibited by Dempster and Gori, we may see some characters resembling the Greek, and yet more that correspond with the Phœnician. I have brought together the letters which resemble each other in form (see Plate III.), and after having examined them, I have no doubt that my reader will easily trace the Etruscan to the Phœnician characters. Let him recollect that Herodotus has said (Lib. V.), that the Ionians got their letters from the Phœnicians, and that Pliny says that the Pelasgi introduced these letters into Italy; nor let him forget that the Pelasgi came from Lydia into Europe.

We know from Strabo, that in the time of Dionysius there was but one city in Asia Minor, where the ancient Lydian was spoken at all. Could this historian, or any of the authors whom he quotes, understand either the Lydian or the Etruscan? Of this last language, as we learn likewise from Strabo, only one dialect remained, and that was the Oscan, which was certainly not generally understood at Rome.

The learned Bochart denies that there was any resemblance between the Etruscan and Phœnician; and he cites many examples to support his opinion. I think, however, that Mazzochi has fully succeeded in proving that a much longer list of Etruscan words than is given by Bochart, is certainly to be derived from the Phœnician. In some instances Mazzochi appears to have failed, and in others he has omitted to answer Bochart; but his etymologies, in general, are not like those of Postellus, and others of inferior name. I shall conclude this section with a few remarks on some of the words on which Bochart principally insists, and concerning which Mazzochi is either silent, or gives an unsatisfactory explanation. I shall not consider

myself as obliged to observe the Masoretic punctuation of Hebrew words, which appears to me to be altogether arbitrary.

1. God, says Bochart, was called Alon by the Carthaginians; but the Etruscans gave him the name of Æsar. Mazzochi takes no notice of this assertion. The word Æsar appears to me to be of Syrian or Phœnician origin. Asar, or Asara, was one of the gods adored by the idolatrous Jews: and the name of this idol was derived from אַסָרָה, *Asara*, which signifies a grove. Hence R. D. Kimchi tells us every wooden idol was barbarously called *Asara*. In another place he says,—*et fuit Asaræ domus et lucus, et expositio ejus est quod mulieres ibi sedentes solícite quærebant et expectabant Asaram*. This passage shews that Asara was the same god with Thaumuz; nor can I doubt that Æsar was the same with Asar or Asara.

2. *Juno*, says Bochart, *Punice Astarte, Tusce Cypra vocatur*. Mazzochi derives Cypra from חַפְרָה, *chaphar*, to *expiate*. I rather think, that Cypra was the same with Cypris, or Cyprea, or the Cyprian Venus; for there can be no question that the Phœnicians were masters of Cyprus at a very early period; and we know that Astarte was called by the Greeks and Romans sometimes Venus, and sometimes Juno. Plutarch, in describing the goddess worshipped at Hierapolis, who was the deity variously named Isis, Cybele, Astarte, remarks that some call her Juno, and some Venus. These two last goddesses were considered as the same by the Greeks, for Pausanias, speaking of the Lacedemonians, says, that *they called an old wooden image the image of Venus-Juno*. The great antiquity of the temple and worship of the Cyprian Venus, may be gathered from a passage in Tacitus: *Conditorum templi regem Aeriam vetus memoria; quidam ipsius Deæ nomen id perhibent. Fama recentior tradit a Cinara sacratum templum, Deamque ipsam, conceptam mari, huc impulsam*.

3. Bochart observes, that *Fortuna* was called *Gad* by the Phœnicians, but *Nyrtia* by the Etruscans. Mazzochi labours to prove that Nyrtia is derived from *norat*, *pauperem fieri*. The authority of Juvenal

is cited to prove that Fortuna and Nyrtia were the same. The sense of Juvenal would have been just as clear, if he had said *Cypra*, as may be seen by looking at the passage. The scholiast of Juvenal and Martianus Capella, pretend that Nyrtia was *Fortuna*; but Livy, who mentions Nyrtia, is silent on the subject; Tertullian, who gives the different modes of writing her name, and who tells us in what cities she was worshipped, makes no mention of her being the same with *Fortuna*; and finally Festus Avienus in his address to Nyrtia, or Nortia, has no allusion of the kind. *Ac videbatur olim*, says Mazzochi, *אֵשׁ נִירְתָא nira, quod Chaldaicis ignem significat, deduci; si probari posset, tantundem Volsiniensibus fuisse Nortiam, quod Romæ Vesta*. I will furnish for Mazzochi the evidence he wanted. Vesta was either one of the *Penates*, or *Lares*, or their companion; and Nortia appears to have been considered by the Volsinienses as one of the *Lares*:

*Nortia te veneror Lare cretus Vulsiniensis.*

*Festus Avienus.*

4. *Regem Phœnices Malchum appellabant, Etrusci Lucumonem.* Etruria was in fact governed by twelve *Lucumones*, or military chiefs. I derive *Lucumones* from לַחֲמִימִים *lachemim*, or *luchemim*, *pugnatores*.

*Sect. III.*—Dionysius has asserted that there was no resemblance between the religion of the Lydians and that of the Etruscans. This subject is too vast to be discussed here at length; and I shall therefore endeavour to confute this position by the proofs which I think must result from only a few examples.

1. Among the Etruscan gods, none lays higher claim to antiquity than Janus. Many writers are of opinion, that Janus was the same with Javan, and derive his name from *jain*, the Hebrew word for wine. I perfectly agree with Vossius and others, in thinking that the adoration of Janus was introduced into Italy by the Asiatics. Macrobius proves to us, that Janus was one of the many appellations given to the sun, and asserts that this same Janus was one of the

gods of the Phœnicians. It seems to have been the Lydians, however, who made his name and his worship known in Italy, for I consider this god to have been no other than Ion. I shall first shew who this Ion was, and then point out my reasons for thinking him the same with Janus.

Josephus thought that Ion was Javan. The Greeks fabled him to be an Athenian, and the son of Apollo and Creusa. It appears to me evident, that Ion was an Asiatic name, which the Greeks endeavoured to derive from their own language, and which they found among the Lydians, when they conquered a part of Asia Minor, about the time when Erectheus reigned at Athens. This name was the Lydian appellation for Apollo, or the sun. *Ieion* and Ion are manifestly the same. Take then the testimony of Apollodorus, as given by Macrobius: *Apollodorus* Ἰηιον *solem scribit ita appellari Apollinem; απο τε καλα τον κοσμον ιεσθαι και ιεναι*. It is needless to make any remarks on this absurd etymology; but it proves that *Ieion* and Ion were the same, for Euripides gives the same derivation of Ion in his tragedy of that name:

Ἰωνα δ' *ονομαζω σε, τη τυχη περπον,*  
 Οθ' *ενεκ' αδυλων εξιονι μοι θεε*  
*Ιχνος συνηψας πρωλος.*

I almost suspect Homer to have had the name of Ion in view, which I have shown to be one of the names of Apollo, when he addressed his hymn to that god:

*Μνησομαι, εδε λαθωμαι Απολλωνος εκαλοιο,*  
 Ον γε *θεοι καλα δωμα Διος τρομερεσιν ιονια.*

Ion has been derived by some learned moderns from *Iona, columba*; (See Gronovius on Stephanus Byzantinus;) but Ion appears to me to have been the same with *Io*, or *Iuo*, which name was given to the sun by his idolatrous worshippers. In the rites in which the sun was

adored under the name of Dionysus, and which the Greeks obtained from the Asiatics, we find the continual sounds of *Io*, *O*, and *Ion*, in the prayers, and cries of the Bacchants. It is strange that these have been mistaken for mere interjections. I believe the meaning to have been *Lord*, the common appellation of the sun among the early idolators. This will be more apparent from the derivation, which I shall give presently. In the mean time, I cite the following words from Euripides: *Ιω, Ιω, δεσπότη, δεσπότη!* *Eur. in Bacch.*

Clemens Alexandrinus says, that those who entered the temple of Serapis were obliged to carry on them the name of *Ihaho*, or *Ihahou*. The Arabs have retained only the last syllable *ho*, or *hou*. When the Bacchants are asked in the chorus, whom they worship, and when they answer *Σεβομεν ω, we worship O*, we can scarcely be justified in understanding a simple exclamation. What were the cries *Ευια* and *Ευιον*, but exclamations in honour of *Ia* and *Ion*?

The Bacchants call Pentheus *the impious, lawless, unjust, earth-born, son of Echion*. This Echion was reported by the poets to have been the friend and companion of the Phœnician Cadmus, and was fabled to have assisted him in the building of Thebes. Now this name appears to me to be compounded from *aggach*, which signifies, in the Syrian dialect, *to make war with, to wound*, and *Ion*. The Greeks changed the harsh sound of *Aggachion* into *Echion*. The wound which the Phœnicians feigned the sun, or the god who represented the sun, to receive, made an important part of their mythology:

——Thammuz came next behind;  
 Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured  
 The Syrian damsels to lament his fate  
 In amorous ditties all a summer's day,  
 While smooth Adonis from his native rock  
 Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood  
 Of Thammuz yearly wounded.

In the hymn to Apollo, we have the following verse :

Σρχεσθα θ' αμ εμοι, και ιηπαινον αειδειν.

The *io-præan* was evidently a hymn to Io ; but if Ion and Io were not the same, why does Creusa repeat the cry of *Io, Io*, when Euripides fables her to have discovered Ion for her son ?

Ιω, Ιω, λαμπρας αιθερος αναπ[ι]υχαι,  
Τιν αυδαν αυσω ?

The whole of this chorus proves, that while the poet made Ion a mortal and an Athenian, he considered him, nevertheless, as a type of the sun ; and this is not less apparent in the preceding dialogue between Ion and Creusa. I shall soon have occasion to show, that the prophetess in the temple of Clarus in Lydia was called *Iona*. The god adored there was called *Iao*. This is evident from the words attributed to the oracle of Clarus :

Φράξεω τον παν[ι]ων υπ[α]των θεον εμμεν Ιαω.

and again,

Χειμα[ρ]ι μεν τ' αιδην, Δια δ' ειαρος αρχομενοιο,  
Ηελιον δε θερεις, με[λ]απωρε δ' αβρον Ιαω.

From all these testimonies, I cannot doubt that *Ion*, *Io*, *Iao*, and *O*, were the same word originally ; but which was pronounced differently by different nations. This is the root of the Latin Janus, Jovis, and Jupiter, which last is nothing else than *Jao-pater*, or *Jeu-pater*, corrupted into Jupiter. The words *Ion*, *Io*, *Iao*, *O*, *Jeu*, are all taken from the name of *Jehovah*, which, in its mystic signification, answered to the *το ον*, or the *ens κατ' ε[ξ]οχην*. When Jehovah was called *Adon*, or even by his name of *Jah*, the common interpretation is *Lord*. *On* was undoubtedly an Egyptian word, which signified the Sun. (See my *Essay on a Punic inscription found in the island of Malta*.)

It now only remains to be shown, that Janus and Ion were the same. We have seen that the Greeks wished to derive Ion from *ἰοναι*, *to go*. It would appear, that Cicero and Macrobius must have had this in view, when they proposed to derive Janus *ab eundo*; and that consequently they considered Janus and Ion as the same. I have proved, as I think, that Ion was one of the appellations of Apollo; and Nigidius asserted that Janus was also one of the names of the same god. It seems likewise to me, that both Ion and Janus were the same with *Zan*, *On*, *Oen*, or *Oannes*, that *imago biceps*, which returned to the sea with the setting sun, and which was worshipped as a solar symbol by the Cretans, Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Babylonians.

2. It would not be difficult, I believe, to show that all the greater gods enumerated by Ennius, were Asiatic before they were Italian; but I wish not to go beyond the limits which I have prescribed to myself; and I shall therefore only take the first name in the list, which is that of Juno. *Junonem dicunt*, says Isidorus, *quasi Janonem, id est, Januam*: this etymology is untenable. We learn from Varro, that *Jana* signified the moon; and Nigidius thought that *Jana* was the same with Diana. It appears, indeed, that *Jana Covella*, or the celestial Juno, was one of the most ancient names given to the sister and the spouse of Jove; and from this we may conclude, that Juno was one of the many appellations given to the Queen of Heaven mentioned in Scripture. Now, that Juno was worshipped in Lydia from the most remote antiquity may be proved from Strabo, who informs us that the Curetes were accustomed to celebrate annually the rites of Juno and Latona, on Solmissus, a mountain in Lydia. Still we have to ask, whence came the name of Juno, or *Jana*? I answer, from the Lydian *Iona*, or *Jona*, who, under the character of a goddess, or prophetess, edited oracles at Clarus, as is affirmed by Maximus Tyrius. *Iona*, Juno, *Jana*, Diana, appear to have been the same name differently pronounced.

3. I had collected materials to show, that the *Saturnalia*, the *Lupercalia*, and the *Bacchanalia*, had been introduced into Italy by the Pelasgi, or Lydians. I shall, however, restrict my inquiries to the *Bacchanalia*.

There is no doubt, in my mind, at least, that the worship of Bacchus was originally derived from Egypt, where, as Herodotus tells us, he was called Osiris. I am not the less persuaded, however, that the inhabitants of Italy established the *Bacchanalia*, in imitation of similar rites which existed among the Lydians. It was believed, as Nicolaus *de ritu Bacchanaliorum*, has observed, that Bacchus was instructed in the mysteries by Cybele. Surely, the Latins must have got this notion from Asia Minor.

My classical reader will remember the two following passages in Horace :

— *Non ego te, candide Bassareu,*  
*Invitum quatiam, nec variis obsita frondibus*  
*Sub divum rapiam. Sæva tene cum Berecynthio*  
*Cornu tympana, &c.*

again,

*Non liber æque, non acuta*  
*Sic geminant Corybantes æra,*  
*Tristes ut iræ.*

Every allusion here carries us to Lydia. Bassareus, as will be shown presently, was a Lydian word. All the religious rites of the Lydians were accompanied by drums, horns, and other instruments ; and Horace mentions the Berecynthian horn, in direct allusion to those rites, for Cybele was also called Berecynthia. Again, the Corybantes were the same with the Curetes, the priests of that goddess.

In the verses, which my Persius repeats and ridicules, the poetaster says,



*Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis,  
Et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superbo  
Bassarîs, et Lyncem Mœnas flexura corymbis  
Evion ingeminat : reparabilis adsonat Echo.*

The *Mimallones* were priestesses of Bacchus, so called from Mount Mimas in Lydia. It was, indeed, by the Lydians, that the Bacchantes of Thrace and Macedon were instructed in the exercise of their frantic rites: and accordingly the Macedonian women, who celebrated the orgies of Bacchus, were called *Mimallones*, *Bassaræ*, and *Lydians*. Μέλα δὲ ταῦτα Μακέλαι, αἱ καλεμεναι Μιμαλλωνες, καὶ Βασσαραι, καὶ Λυδαι, καλῶκεχυμεναι τὰς τριχὰς, καὶ ἐσφεινωμεναι, τινες μὲν ὄφειν, αἱ δὲ σμίλαξι, καὶ ἀμπέλῳ, καὶ κισσῷ. (Athenæus, L. V.) *After these things came the Macedonian women, who are called Mimallones, and Bassaræ, and Lydians, having their hair dishevelled, and crowned, some indeed with serpents, with the ilex, with the vine, and with ivy.* Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν λόγῳ, ὡς πασαι μὲν αἱ τῆδε γυναῖκες ἐνοχοὶ τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς οὐσαὶ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς ἐκ τῆ παλαιοῦ Κλυδῶνες (lege Λυδῶνες) τῆ καὶ Μιμαλλωνες ἐπωνυμίαν ἐχούσαι, πολλὰ ταῖς Ἠδωνίσιν, καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὸν Αἴμον Θρησσαις ὁμοίᾳ ᾄδουσιν, ἀφ' ὧν δοκεῖ τὸ θρησκευεῖν ὄνομα ταῖς ἀλῆγοροις γενεσθαι, καὶ περιεγοῖς ἱεροουργίας. (Plutarch in Alexandro.) *But there is another report concerning them. As indeed all the women were engaged from remote antiquity in the Orphic mysteries, and in the celebration of the orgies of Bacchus, they were surnamed Lydones and Mimallones; and they do many things similar to the Edones, and the Thracian women round Mount Hæmus, from which circumstances it seems that τὸ θρησκευεῖν became the name for excesses, and for idle superstitious ceremonies.* Αἱ Βασσαραι μὲν ἐλεγούσιν καὶ Λυδαι, καὶ Μακέλαι, καὶ Μιμαλλωνες . . . . . Αἱ δὲ Βασσαραι μὲν εἰρημεναι τῆ Διονυσέ τροφοὶ διὰ τὸ ἔσιν ἐπ' αὐὰ ποιεισθαι διὰ τὸ μανιωδές, Λυδαι δὲ τοπικῶς καθὰ καὶ Μακέλαι, ὡς Μακεδονικαί. (Eustathius.) *They are indeed called Bassaræ, Lydæ, Macetæ, and Mimallones . . . . . They are named Bassaræ, the nurses of Bacchus,*

from being furiously agitated while they dance during their abominable imprecations; but *Lydæ* from the local situation, in the same manner as the *Macetæ*, are so called from being Macedonian women. Others have thought that the *Bassaræ* were so called from a garment which they wore, which was so named from a place in Lydia, and which fell quite to the feet. *Bassaris*, says the scholiast on Horace, *est genus vestis ad pedes usque demissæ; dicta a Bassara loco Lydiæ ubi fit*. Others again suppose, that the *bassaris* was a garment made of fox skin. Hesychius makes *bassaris* the Lydian name for a fox. Tzezes says it is εἶδος αλωπεκος.

Tacitus thus describes Messalina, when she assumed the character of a Bacchant: *Ipsa crine fluxo, thyrsum quatiens, juxtaque Silius hedera vinctus, gerere cothurnos, jacere caput, strepente circum procaci choro*. Now let us compare this description with the ceremonies practised in Lydia. *Ipsa crine fluxo*: we have seen from Athenæus, that the Lydian women appeared with dishevelled hair on similar occasions; and we may add the words of Apuleius, when speaking of the votaries of Cybele, he says, *crinesque pendulos rotantes in circulum*.—*Thyrsus quatiens*: the custom was derived from the Lydians. When Antony entered Ephesus, the city, says Plutarch, was full of ivy, of thyrsi, of psalteries, pipes, and trumpets.

— *Iacchus*

*Ebria Mæoniis fulcit vestigia thyrsis.*

*Claudian.*

*Juxtaque Silius hedera vinctus:*

*Candida laxatis onerato colla corymbis*

*Cinget Bassaricas Lydia mitra comes.*

*Propertius.*

*Ubi capita Menades vi jaciunt hederigeræ.*

*Catullus.*

*Gerere cothurnos* : Tacitus uses this last word in the same sense with Virgil in the seventh eclogue ; and this part of the dress was derived from the Lydians :

*Lydius apta pedum vincla cothurnus habet.*  
Ovid.

*Jacere caput* : from this singular custom the Greeks gave the name of *Cybele* to *Cybele*. Her votaries were wont *jacere caput* in the rites of the *Magna Mater* :

*Terrificas capitum quatientes numine cristas,*  
*Dictæos referunt Curetes.*

Lucretius.

*Strepente circum procaci choro* : Messalina conducted the whole ceremony after the Lydian fashion. See in Catullus the description of the orgies of *Cybele* :

*Leve tympanum remugit, cava cymbala recrepant,*  
*Viridem citus adit properante pede chorus.*

To these proofs I shall add only a very few more. Virgil gives to Bacchus the epithet of *Mæonius*. My learned readers will remember the following passages in the *Bacchæ* of Euripides :

Λιπὼν δὲ Λυδῶν τὰς πολυχρυσὰς γυῖας,  
Φρυγῶν ἦε, &c.  
Ἀλλ' ὦ λιπῶσαι Τρωλὸν, ἐρυμὰ Λυδίας  
Θιασοῦ ἔμῳ, γυναικεῖς, &c.  
Ἐῆσ' οὐδὲν εἰμι. Λυδία δὲ μοι παῖρις.

The secrecy which was required on the mysteries originated in Egypt ; but the Romans thought it was ordained by *Cybele* herself. *Nefas erat patefacere sacra Cybelis . . . . . sic jussit ipsa Cybele*, says Servius, in commenting on the words of Virgil, *hinc fida silencia*

*sacris*, which alone would go far to prove the truth of my statement.

It now only remains to be shown, that the Etruscans, from whom the Romans obtained almost all of their religious customs and notions, were worshippers of Bacchus. See then the verses ascribed to Homer, which are called *Διονυσος η λησται*—*Bacchus and the robbers*, and compare these with the old Etruscan coins, on which we find the *dolphins* and the ship so frequently stamped. Dempster has not reckoned Bacchus among the number of gods worshipped by the Etruscans. In the third table, however, of his first volume, three figures are represented, one of which is evidently the Bacchus described by Homer, as may be concluded from the vine leaves round his head, and the anchor in his hand. Many heads of Bacchus are exhibited in the collection of Gori, and particularly on the marble sarcophagus represented in the seventh table; but the testimony of Livy is yet more important. We learn from that illustrious historian (Lib. XXXIX. C. 8 and 9.) that the *Bacchanalia* were introduced into Rome by the Etruscans.

I trust I have said enough to prove the inaccuracy of the assertion of Dionysius, concerning the religion of the Etruscans and Lydians. I shall now proceed, in opposition to the same writer, to show the resemblance which existed between the manners of those two nations.

*Sect. IV.*—The Lydians appear, from the account which is given of them by Herodotus, to have been a very polished and opulent people, who were acquainted with the arts both of peace and war. According to Dionysius himself, the Etruscans contended courageously, though not successfully, against the Romans, who enriched themselves by the spoils of that wealthy and even luxurious people. The Lydians were the first, says Herodotus, who coined money; the same invention has been attributed to the Etruscans; and it cannot be denied that their coins are the most ancient in Europe, without

excepting those either of Sicily, or of Greece. Six golden cups, weighing thirty talents, which were sent by Gyges to Delphos, prove that the Lydians were early acquainted with the art of working in gold. The golden crown of which Pliny speaks, and the golden crown mentioned by Dionysius, attest that the Etruscans possessed the same knowledge. The Lydians were extremely superstitious, attended to signs and omens, and consulted oracles on every occasion. The Etruscans, as Dionysius amply testifies, had the same prejudices. According to Herodotus, the Lydians were the inventors of all games, except chess. A Greek proverb proclaimed the superiority of the people of Crotona in the games. The Lydians invented scenic representations; and the Etruscans preserved the invention of their ancestors. *Lydos ex Asia Transvenas in Hetruria consedisce, et spectacula religionis nomine instituisse, mutantur tempus et enuntiationem, ut luda a ludis vocarentur.* (Tertullian.) It appears indeed from Livy, that the Romans were instructed by the Etruscans in the art of making scenic representations; nor, if we believe Herodotus, can we doubt that they brought this art from Lydia. There was a chorus, says he, of musicians and of satyrs, resembling those in the *pomp* of the Tuscans: all of these were girt with a belt, wore a crown of gold on their heads, and advanced in order with an equal step, singing and dancing,—they are called *ludi*, adds the historian, because the Tuscans are Lydian colonists. Now Dionysius himself admits, that the *ludiones* were so called from the Lydians, who were generally believed to have been the inventors of the *ludi*. Appian Alexandrinus confirms the testimony of Herodotus: *Λυδὰς αὐτὰς καλεῖσιν, ὅτι οἶμαι Τυρρηνικοὶ Λυδῶν ἀποικοί.* *They call these Lydi, I think, because the Tuscans are Lydian colonists.* It is well known how much the art of dancing was connected with all the scenic representations of the ancients; and this art appears to have been introduced into Italy by the Lydians:

*Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos*

*Matura virgo.*

*Hor.*

*Dumque rudem præbente modum tibicine Thusco,*

*Lydius æquatam ter pede pulsat humum. Ovid.*

The musical instruments of the Etruscans seem all to have been brought from Asia Minor. The *tibia* was said to have been invented in Phrygia—*tibias excogitatas in Phrygia ferunt*, says Isidorus. Apollo played on his seven-stringed lyre, when he triumphed in Phrygia in his musical contest with Marsyas; and the Etruscan lyre, like that which is represented in the hands of Apollo, had seven strings. Pliny says, that Tyrrhenus invented the trumpet; and the same thing is asserted by Silius Italicus:

*Lydius huic genitor Tmoli decus, æquore longe*

*Meoniam quondam in Latias advexerat oras*

*Tyrrhenus pubem, dederatque vocabula terris.*

*Isque insueta tuba monstravit murmura primus*

*Gentibus, et bellis ignara silentia rupit.*

We have seen that the horn was sounded in the *pomp* of Cybele; the Etruscans retained the custom at their religious ceremonies:

*Inflavit eum pinguis ebur Tyrrhenus ad aras.*

It is curious to remark, that the very dress of the Lydians and Etruscans was the same. That the *toga* was originally Lydian may be proved from Tertullian *de Pallio*; and yet more clearly from Artemidorus, cited by Ferrarius *de re vestiaria*. Among the presents which Dionysius says were brought to Tarquinius Priscus by the Etruscan ambassadors, were a *purple tunic embroidered with gold, and a variegated purple garment, such as those which the kings of Lydia and Persia were accustomed to wear, and such as that which the Romans called the toga*. The *prætecta* was distinguished from the common *toga* by

its colours ; and this garment was Lydian before it was Etruscan, as is attested by Festus, Lib. XVII. by Silius Italicus, Lib. VIII. and by Lucilius in the following line :

*Prætextæ ac tunicæ Lydorum opus sordidum omne.*

The chlamys was introduced into Italy by the inhabitants of Asia Minor :

— *Dat Phrygiam Ascanio chlamydem. Virg.*

*Alter Miletî textam cane pejus et angui  
Vilabit chlamydem. Hor.*

Οὗτος Νεμμάς ο καὶ Πομπήλιος δεξάμενος πρεσβευτὰς ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῶν λεγομένων Πελασγῶν φορετῶν χλαμυδὰς ἐχέσας ταβλία ρυσαῖα, &c. *Iste Numa Pompilius capiens Senatores ex regione Pelasgorum, gerentium chlamydes habentes clavos coccineos, &c. (Chronicon Alexandrinum.)* The sandals, or boots, worn by the Etruscans were made after the Lydian fashion, as appears from a passage cited by Dempster from Pollux, and which concludes thus, τὰ μὲντοι Τυρρηνικά εἴη ἂν ὁ Σαπφὺς μασθλῆς.

Ποικίλος μασθλῆς, Λυδίων κακὸν ἔργον.

And from the line in Ovid :

*Lydius apta pedum vincla cothurnus habet.*

It is proved by Festus (Lib. XVII.) and by Plutarch, in his Roman Questions, that the *bullæ* was worn by the Lydians, and was introduced by them into Italy.

It is time that I close this section ; and I shall, therefore, only observe, that in three points, at least, I think, I have answered Dionysius. If he be right with respect to the fourth and the last, and if the laws of the Etruscans and of the Lydians were different, it would not be sufficient to establish his hypothesis, after the demolition of all his other arguments. Of the laws of the Etruscans, scarcely a

vestige remains to us; and we only know, on the authority of Herodotus, that the laws of the Lydians resembled those of the Greeks; but Dionysius has betrayed his ignorance of the language, religion, and manners of the Etruscans, and it may be consequently suspected that he knew as little of their laws. Supported then by all the mass of indirect evidence, which I have brought forward in this and in the preceding sections; as well as by the positive authority which is afforded to me by Herodotus, Strabo, Cicero, Tacitus, Pliny, Solinus, Festus Pompeius, Servius, Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, Plutarch, Virgil, Horace, Statius, and Silius Italicus, whose different testimonies are given at length by Cluverius, though they do not seem to have convinced that illustrious antiquarian; I shall conclude this part of my dissertation, by stating that the Etruscans were descended from the Lydians, and were called both Tyrrheni and Pelasgi.



## PART THIRD.

*Sect. I.*—It is not my intention to inquire, whether the Lydians were the first inhabitants of Italy or not; nor shall I contradict those authors who speak of the *Aborigines*, the *Cethim*, and the *Siculi*, as having had the prior possession of that country. I am not the less of opinion, however, that the Lydians, under the name of Etruscans, gradually became the masters of almost the whole of the Italian continent, and that they still retained a great extent of dominion when Romulus laid the foundations of Rome. The whole country, from the Alps to the straits of Messina, appears to have been under their sway. *Constat Tuscos usque ad fretum Siculum*, says Servius, *omnia possedisse*. The words of Livy are to the same purpose: *Quantum tanta opibus Etruria erat, ut jam non terras solum, sed etiam mare per totam Italie longitudinem ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum fama nominis sui implesset*. Upon this passage Guarnaci well observes, *queste sono le frasi eleganti dei vecchi autori, che anco per significare vero dominio, e vero imperio dicono*. That the Etruscans were masters of Campania is evident from Strabo, who says that they founded twelve cities there, of which Capua was the principal. The following passage from Polybius deserves attention: Πλην ταῦτα γε τὰ πεδία, τὸ παλαιὸν ἐνεμονίῳ Τυρρηνῶν. Καθ' ἕς χρόνους καὶ τὰ Φλεγραιὰ πότ' ἐκαλεῖσθαι τὰ περὶ Καπυτῆν καὶ Νωλὴν πεδία . . . . . καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλοῖς ἐμποδὸν εἶναι καὶ γνωρίζεσθαι, μεγάλῃ ἐπ' ἀρετῇ δοῦσαν εἰληφέναι, διο καὶ τῆς ἰσορροφίας τῆς Τυρρηνῶν δυναστείας, ἔχρη ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὴν νῦν κατέχομενὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν χώραν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰ προειρημένα πεδία, καὶ τὰς ἐκ τετῶν τῶν τοπῶν ἀφορμὰς. *Igitur planitiem istam tenuere quondam Etrusci, cum quidem et campos circa Capuam ac Nolam, Phlegreos quondam possidentes, quod multorum pravis conatibus*

*obstarent, exteris innotuerunt, magnamque opinionem virtutis apud eos sunt consecuti, iccirco qui historias legunt de Tyrrhenorum dynasteis et variis denominatibus, eos oportet, non ad illam ditionem quod nunc obtinent, oculos referre; verum ad campos de quibus verba fecimus, et opes quas ex eis locis colligebant.*

The passages which I have cited, might seem sufficient; but as Strabo has stated that the country on the Sarnus belonged to the Osci, then to the Tyrrheni and the Pelasgi, and afterwards to the Samnites, it is necessary that I point out the connection between these nations and the Etruscans. Of the Tyrrheni and Pelasgi, I think it unnecessary to speak particularly, because I have already shown, that these were the Lydian colonists, who settled at different periods in Etruria. Let us then proceed to make a few inquiries concerning the Osci and the Samnites.

Sect. II.—*Some report, says Strabo, that the Opici and Ausones formerly possessed those places in Campania, which have since been occupied by the Oscan nation. Who were these Osci? Festus thinks, that they obtained the name from a part of Campania, which was called Oscan; but it is more probable that the country was called after the people, than the people after the country. Servius will have it, that they were so named, because the region which they inhabited abounded with serpents; and Eudoxus endeavours to confirm this idle etymology; Alii vero Ophicos dictos volunt a serpentibus, ἀπο τῶν ὀφειῶν. Let us attend to the more important observation of Cluverius, when he says, unam eandemque fuisse gentem, quæ variis appellaretur nominibus: Ausones, Aurunci, Opici; quorum hoc vocabulum postmodum a Romanis correptum fuit in duas syllabas, Opisci, vel Obsci, ac tandem Osci. To this opinion I readily subscribe with Camillus Peregrinus; and I must consequently put my question differently, and ask, who were the Ausones? The Ausones, says Ælian, were the original inhabitants of Italy. Servius observes (I confess I do not see why), that they were called Ausones, because they were the first who possessed*

Italy. If we choose to trust the suspected authority of Dionysius, Ænotrus found the Ausones established in Italy seventeen generations before the Trojan war. How are we to reconcile these accounts with those given by Festus, Marcianus, Tzetzes, and Eustathius (cited at length by Cluverius and Camillus Peregrinus), in which we are told, that the Ausones derived their name from Auson, the son of Ulysses, either by Circe, or by Calypso? How, again, are we to reconcile these authors with Virgil, or how are we to understand Servius, who makes the Ausones the most ancient people of Italy, and yet derives their name from Auson? This same scholiast asserts, that they had always inhabited the lower part of Italy, and yet Mela says that the *Ausones* were the most illustrious of the *Aquitani*. This mixture of fable, uncertainty, and contradiction, obliges us to look to other sources for the origin of that nation, which was known by all the various names mentioned above by Cluverius.

Many reasons induce me to conclude, that the people of whom we have been speaking were Etruscans. Silius Italicus gives to the river Po the name of the *aquarum Ausonidum*. We have seen from Strabo and Polybius, that Nola belonged to the Etruscans; and yet Stephanus calls it a city of the Ausones. Strabo and Polybius likewise attest, that the Campania Felix was under the dominion of the Etruscans. The former states, nevertheless, that the Osci and Samnites were masters of it, as well as the Tyrrheni and the Pelasgi; and this can only be understood by what the latter has said concerning the Etruscan dynasties. The Etruscans and Oscans were equally celebrated for their scenic representations. We find in the manners of both, that voluptuous elegance which so peculiarly marked their Lydian ancestors, and that unrestrained licentiousness which provoked against both the indignation of the Roman moralists. The Fescennine verses, the songs of the *Salii*, and the *Fabule Atellanæ*, were probably not very dissimilar, either in language or in matter.

From these observations I should be inclined to believe, that the Ausones and Osci were descended from the Etruscans.

Sect. III.—Strabo asserts, that the Samnites were Sabine colonists: *Ἔστι δὲ παλαιστᾶρον γένος οἱ Σαβίνοι καὶ αὐτοχθόνες. Τῶν δ' ἀποικοὶ Πικερίνιοι τε καὶ Σαμνίται.* Zenodotus Trœzenius, cited by Dionysius, was of opinion that the Sabines were the ancient inhabitants of Umbria, whence they were expelled by the Pelasgi. Other authors, among whom are Servius and Justin, derive the Sabines from the Spartans. Here I shall refer my reader to Cluverius, who has proved that the Sabines could not have been descended from the Greeks. Neither Cluverius, however, nor Camillus Peregrinus, has discerned the real origin of this most ancient people. Dionysius and Strabo would have the Sabines to have been Aborigines. This must be mere conjecture. We know from Zenodotus, that they once inhabited Umbria. Now, it was in Umbria, according to Herodotus, that the Lydians first landed; it may then be concluded, from the following observations, that as the Pelasgi arrived in fresh numbers from Greece, the Tyrrheni (*mutato cum sedibus nomine*) retired into the country, afterwards called the territory of the Sabines.

1. The Etruscans and Sabines had the same manners and customs. Livy describes the Sabines, as being, in the time of Tullus Hostilius, the richest and most flourishing people of Italy, after the Etruscans. According to Fabius, quoted by Strabo, the Romans first knew what riches were, when they had conquered the Sabines. When Livy accounts for the manner in which Numa acquired his knowledge and his virtues, he seems to think, that that religious king was less indebted to the science of strangers than to the rude and gloomy discipline of the ancient Sabines. In effect, Numa introduced many of the Etruscan superstitions among the Romans; and the gods, to whom this Sabine prince erected altars, were all Etruscan deities. The Sabines, like the Etruscans, delighted in adorning themselves with ornaments wrought in gold; with gems, rings, and bracelets;

with purple and embroidered tunics. Both nations were rich, luxurious, and fond of pleasure; but gallant in arms, and skilful in the arts. Equally superstitious and equally polished, both believed the same fables, and displayed the same refinement in their institutions and usages. Let my reader consult Livy and Dionysius, and judge if I have exaggerated this resemblance.

2. I have already stated, that the Samnites were descended from the Sabines: and I, therefore, take it for granted that the former retained the language of their ancestors. Now it can be proved, from the testimony of the ancients, and particularly from that of Festus Pompeius, as well as from many ancient coins, some of which were in the possession of Passari, that the language of the Samnites was nothing else than Etruscan; but the Samnite dialect, as Varro clearly indicates, was derived from the Oscan. What else can be concluded from this, but that the Ausones, Osci, Sabines, and Samnites, spoke different dialects of the same language, which was Etruscan, and which was consequently derived from the Lydian and Phœnician?

*Sect. IV.*—It now only remains for me to point out the resemblance between some ancient names of places in the *Campania Felix* (which was occupied by the Etruscans, or their colonists, until it fell under the dominion of the Romans,) and Oriental words, which appear to be descriptive of those places, or appropriate to them from some peculiar or accidental circumstances.

1. *Pompeia*, or, as it was frequently written, *Pompeii*, was situated on the side of the mouth of the river *Sarnus*, which has been filled up by the ashes which likewise overwhelmed the city. According to Solinus, *Pompeia* is derived from *pompa*, in allusion to the *pomp* with which Hercules celebrated his victories. The learned Bryant derives *Pompeii* from the Egyptian article *pi*, and *omphi*, an oracle. He observes that there were several places so called, none of which could have taken their names from Pompey the great. Of the two pillars

called Pompeian, one stands at the *pharos* of Alexandria in Egypt, and the other at the extreme point of the Thracian Bosphorus—at a mouth of the Nile, and at the mouth of the Straits. I think the name was given from the local situation. פֶּה *pom* has the same signification in Chaldaic with פֶּה *peh* in Hebrew. Both signify a mouth, an edge, or an extremity. I understand Pompeii or *Pom-peh*, to mean *the edge of the mouth*, and which seems exactly descriptive of its situation.

2. *Galeno autem florente unum ex istis castellis, quod ad mare erat forte propter excellentiam suam, nomen sibi Stabiarum sumpserat.* This passage, which I cite from Camillus Peregrinus, leads me almost to think, that that writer had in view the etymology of *Stabiæ*, which I am about to propose. *Stabiæ* seems then to me to be a corruption from צָבִי, *tsabi*, *decus, ornamentum, gloria*; the *ts* being changed into *st*, for a reason similar to that assigned by Bochart, where he derives *Stadia* from *tsadia* (*Phaleg et Canaan, L. I. C. 7.*). The *tzade* was also frequently changed into *s*.

3. *Surrentum* is derived from שִׁיר, *sir*, as is fully proved by Bochart, (*Phaleg et Canaan, L. I. C. 33.*)

4. Cluverius cites a passage from Galen (*de methodo medendi, L. V.*), from which it appears that the ancient Romans, as well as those who wrote their language accurately, gave the name of Vesuvius to the mountain, which was vulgarly called *Vesvius*. Lucretius, and many of the poets, after his example, called it *Vesuvus*. The Greeks wrote variously Ουεσβίος, Ουεσσεβίος, Βεσβίος, Βεσσεβίος. These fluctuations seem to indicate, that the name of this celebrated volcano was neither of Greek nor of Latin origin. We know that, before the eruption described by Pliny and Xiphilinus, there was scarcely any tradition of flames having been thrown out by Mount Vesuvius, though it is evident, from Strabo, that former eruptions must have taken place. *Mount Vesuvius, says the geographer, is cultivated and adorned around with very beautiful grounds, its summit excepted, of which the greater part is flat, in appearance like cinders, and it exhibits tubulated cavities*

in rocks of a burnt colour, as if they had been eaten out by fire ; so that it may be inferred, that this place formerly burned, and had craters of fire, which, from the deficiency of the matter, have been since extinguished, (L. V.) If Vesuvius threw out flames when its name was given to it, I should derive it from עֵשׂ es עֵשׂ es, converted into *ves-ves*, by the use of the Æolic digamma (as עֵשְׂרָא *esta* was changed into *Vesta*), that is, *the mighty fire* ; for the superlative in the Oriental tongues is often produced by the repetition of the positive ; and the doubling the substantive only indicates the abundance or magnitude of the thing denoted. But if the volcano were already extinct, Vesuvius, or Οὐεσσέλιος, may have come from *ves*, and יבֵּשׁ *ibes*, *dried up, burnt out, or extinguished*. *Vesibes* would consequently mean *the fire burnt out, or the extinguished volcano*.

5. The name of *Veseris* was given both to the Sebethus and the country round it ; but, as it will appear in a moment, the river got the appellation from the region through which it flowed. *Veseris* seems to be derived from עֵשׂ *es* (pronounced *ves*), *fire*, and אֶרֶץ *eretz*, *land, or country*. It will scarcely be disputed, that this name of *the region of fire* was aptly given to the Phlegrean fields. If, however, we abide by what some think the strict rule in Hebrew, we must translate *the fire of the earth*. My reasons for thinking, that this rule is not always observed in proper names, will be soon given to the public.

*Nola* appears to me to be a corruption from two Hebrew words, נֹחַ, *navah*, or *noh*, a habitation, and לֶחֶם, *lach*, or *lah*, green, or flourishing.

7. Servius says, that *Abella* was so called *ab nucibus Avellanis*. If this were so, it might be derived from עֵב *ab*, which signifies a thick wood, and אֲלִיָּה *alia*, lofty. But *Abella* was probably a place sacred to the Deity, and thence named from אב *ab*, *pater*, and אֵל *el*, or אֱלֹהִים *alah, deus*. The compound word *Ab-el* was one of the titles given to the sun by his idolatrous worshippers.

8. *Mount Tiphata*. This name is the same with the Hebrew

תִּפְתַּי *Tuphet*, or *Tophet*. Bryant, as usual, shows much ingenuity and learning in treating of the radicals *toph*, or *tuph*. According to him, *tuphet* or *tophet*, ought to signify the *hill of fire*; Tophet being in fact the place where the Israelites passed their children through the fire to Moloch. This is undoubtedly a more rational etymology than is generally given of the word: viz. from תִּפְתַּי *tympanum*, because, during this horrid ceremony, they were accustomed to beat drums. Schmidius has thought that Tophet indicates *locum aliquem conspectui ingratum*. I find that the Arabians give the name of ثَغِيَّة to any desert or solitary place. Mount Tiphata is a rugged barren mountain in the Phlegrean region. The Chaldeans, and probably the Phœnicians, wrote תִּפְתַּי, or תִּפְתַּי, for תִּפְתַּי. It seems evident then that the Latin *Tiphata*, is the same with the Chaldean and Syrian *Typhata*. I suspect, however, from the use of the word in Arabic, that *tuph*, or *taph*, does not signify a hill, but a solitary, dreary place; and thence was metaphorically employed to signify a place of sacrifice, sometimes a tomb, and sometimes Tartarus, or the infernal world. Tophet then is compounded of *Tuph* and *ait*, the solitary gloomy place consecrated to fire—i. e. to the worship of the sun. I translate Typhon *sol inferus*, and I think this agrees better with mythology, than if we translate with Bryant *the hill of the sun*. The *sol inferus*, as Bryant well knew, was worshipped and dreaded by all the Amonian nations.

9. Bryant says, that *Cumæ* was formerly pronounced *Chumain*, the hot fountain. The derivation is thus rendered sufficiently obvious. Bryant, however, might have taken notice of the opinion of the ancients themselves, who thought that *Cumæ* was so called from *Cuma*, a town in Asia, which belonged to the Æolians, and of which full mention is made by Strabo (Lib. XIII.), and this name, they say, was given to it from one of the Amazons. This is confirmed by Stephanus: Το ὄνομα ἀπο Ἀμαζόνος τῇ πόλει τέθεισθαι. See also Mela (Lib. I). It is enough for me that the name is confessed to be Asiatic.



10. The *Cumani*, according to Strabo (Lib. V.), gave to *Dicearchia* the name of *Puteoli*, from the stinking wells in its neighbourhood. I should suspect, that *Puteoli* was the ancient name revived, nor can I imagine the etymology given by Strabo to be the true one. Pliny has the following words: *augent numerum Deorum nominibus variis, urbesque condunt, sicut Puteolos in Campania, &c.* There can be no question of the honour in which Apollo was held at Cumæ and at Puteoli, where he had a statue. Such, indeed, was the reverence for this god at Puteoli, that Festus tells us it was called *Delos minor*. This being the case, I do not hesitate to derive Puteoli from *Put* and *elah*, which last word signifies *God*. Now *Put*, as Bochart has proved (Lib. I. C. 2.), was no other than the Pythian Apollo. Puteoli is then a corruption from *Put-elah*, and signifies *the God Apollo*.

11. We learn from Strabo (Lib. VI.), that the ancient name of *Titernum* was *Leuternia*, which was so called from the giants, who got the name of *Leuternii* after they had been vanquished by Hercules, and had been covered with earth. I derive *Leuternia* from לִטַּל *lut*, to cover, and אֶרֶץ *eran*, earth. The *Leuternii* were those who were covered with earth.

12. According to various ancient writers, the promontory of Misenum was so named, from a person who was called Misenus. Strabo (Lib. I.) makes Misenus one of the companions of Ulysses. In Virgil, we find this same Misenus converted into a Trojan trumpeter; and Servius gravely tells us, that he was the son of Æolus, the god of the winds. To this god I give these traditions. Let us observe that the promontory of Misenum was surrounded by fountains which have always been famous. The word might have been originally written מִינְעִינַיִם, that is, *the pressure or abundance of fountains*. If we could suppose the word a little more changed, which, in order to avoid the aspirate, might easily have happened, I should read מִינְעִינַיִם, that is, *girted by fountains*. The word מִנָּה is originally Arabic; but the modern Arabians write it مِسْكَة.

13. *Baie* was fabled to have been named from *Baios*, one of the companions of Ulysses. This place was situated fast by the lake of Avernus, which was believed to be one of the mouths of Tartarus, where the ghosts of the dead howled round the dreadful gulph.

Οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ βοόρου ἐφοίων αλλοθεν αλλος,  
Θεσπεσίη ἰαχῇ.

*Baie* may have gotten its name from the cries of the damned, which were supposed to be heard near Avernus. But if Bryant be right in thinking that the original name was *Baian*, then, we may safely read פַּי־אֵן *Ai-ain*, changed by the digamma into *Vai-an*, and thence into *Bai-an*—the region of fountains, or, if we must translate it singulariter—the place of the fountain. Its waters are sufficiently celebrated.

14. Servius and some other authors tell us, that *Baulæ* was so called because Hercules kept the oxen there which he had stolen from Geryon. I derive *Baulæ* from בעל.

15. The following line is ascribed to Virgil:

*Unde locum Graii dixerunt nomine Aornon.*

This is probably an interpolation, and therefore I shall say nothing of an absurd etymology, which it was unworthy of the muse of Virgil to record. *Aornus*, or *Avernus*, has been evidently once a volcano, and, as it would appear, a very terrible one. The root is unquestionably אור, *aur*, fire.

These examples seem sufficient to establish my hypothesis. I have, of course, avoided making mention of those places, of which the etymology has been already given by Mazzochi.

## DISSERTATION VI.

*On the Knowledge of the Greek Language, and on the State of the Art of Painting among the Romans, before and about the time of the Destruction of Herculaneum.*

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BY ROBERT WALPOLE, ESQ.

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IN reflecting on the great attention which was paid by the Romans to the acquirement and study of the Greek language, there are three circumstances which seem peculiarly to merit observation: the introduction and continuance of that language, from the earliest times of the republic, to a very late period; the knowledge of it among the lower classes of the community; and the general use of it in some of the provinces of the empire. The very great number of manuscripts in the Greek language discovered at Herculaneum, has called our attention to this subject; and the following observations will illustrate and develope more fully the circumstances to which we have alluded above.

1. The Greek language, says Cicero, in the fourth book of the Tusculan Disputations, was studied in the earliest times of the republic. The books of Numa Pompilius were written in Greek and Latin. Lucius Tarquinius Priscus was the son of a Corinthian. Tarquinius Superbus received from a woman the nine books of oracles, written in Greek, called the Sibylline. The same king sent his sons Titus and Aruns to Delphi. The embassy to Athens, in order that the laws of Solon might be copied, and the institutions of some other Grecian states, is familiar to the mind of every one. Doubtless, the similarity which existed between the ancient Latin letters and those

of the Greek language, from which also the Latins borrowed many words, facilitated the acquirement of the Greek tongue. The merit of the writers of Greece, who address themselves to all mankind, could not fail of meeting with the admiration which they so justly deserved.

Accordingly, a new æra in the literature of Rome commenced at the time when Carneades the academician, Diogenes the stoic, Critolaus, the peripatetic, were sent from Athens to Rome. They were introduced into the senate, and, as Gellius informs us, *magno conventu hominum dissertaverunt*. This would have been useless, if their auditors had not been conversant with their language. From this time the Romans began to apply themselves to the study of philosophy. We know with what eager attention the lessons of Siro and Polydemus, two Greek philosophers, the friends of Cicero and Torquatus, are said to have been received. In the time of the Mithridatic war, Philo the academician arrived at Rome with some of the most noble families of Athens; and then Cicero first heard him. We do not here dwell on the names of many other Grecian philosophers, whose reputation attracted numerous followers at Rome; we pass to the subject of poetry.

The poetry of the Greeks, as well as their philosophy, found admirers in the Romans. Cicero in two parts of his works (in the first book of the *Tusculans* and the first *De finibus*) has said that the Latins had become poets by imitating and reading the Greeks; and that they not only followed their steps, but translated their works. The names of Virgil, Lucretius, Catullus, Lucan, Ovid, present themselves to our minds. These writers had drunk largely at the fountains of Grecian poetry, and had studied in the schools of Greece. In an ode of Horace, which does equal justice to the talents of the poet and the feelings of the friend, we are informed of the voyage of Virgil to Athens. Ovid and Propertius tell us, that they also had studied there.

The first Roman emperors were well acquainted with the treasures of Grecian literature. Julius Cæsar was distinguished by the knowledge he possessed of the language ; and the last words which burst from the lips of the dying emperor, in his affectionate reproach to Brutus, were Greek. Augustus was the constant protector of Apollodorus of Pergamus ; he was fond of intermixing Greek in his letters. Germanicus had translated Aratus into Latin verses. Tiberius wrote Greek poems ; Caligula and Claudius were authors of comedies in that language. Nero was possessed with a passion for all that was Greek. Vespasian and Titus were celebrated for their promptitude in speaking and in writing in Greek. The emperor Hadrian received the title of Græculus ; and the interesting work relating to himself, which Marcus Aurelius has transmitted to us, was composed in Greek.

The more indeed we consider the subject, the more reason we shall find to be surprised at the great knowledge which the Romans must have obtained, at different periods, of the Greek, and the regard which was paid to compositions in that language. Polybius, Appian, Dio Cassius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ælian, Josephus, all wrote at Rome in Greek. Polybius was the friend of Scipio Africanus, Ælian was born at Præneste : Josephus wrote in the court of Vespasian. Cicero does not scruple to tell us, how much the literature of Greece was studied in his time. *Erat Italia tunc (in his youth) plena Græcarum artium ac disciplinarum studiis.* And in the same oration, he attests the universality of that language ; *Græca in omnibus fere gentibus leguntur, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur. Pro Archia.*

And here we cannot help observing, with the Abbé du Bos, one bad effect which flowed from the great attention paid to a foreign tongue. The pronunciation of the Roman language had become thereby considerably changed. Cicero informs us, that in his time, it was very different from that used by the ancient Romans ; it had

become loaded with accents, aspirates, and inflections of voice imitated from the pronunciation of foreigners. This is called by him *peregrina insolentia*. Let us judge, says Crassus, of the ancient pronunciation, by the manner in which the women of our time pronounce. As women are less in the world than men, they are less apt to alter the pronunciation which they have acquired in their infancy. When I hear my mother-in-law Lælia speak, I think that I hear Plautus and Nævius; she pronounces, with a sound of voice, so simple, so void of affectation, and emphasis and imitation. Hence I am justified in thinking that her father spoke in the same manner.

2. What has been said above may appear to apply only to the state of the Greek language, as possessed by the more cultivated and distinguished part of the community. It will, however, be seen, that there is reason to conclude that the language was very generally known.

The comedies of Menander were in the hands of every one: *solet pueris virginibusque legi*, says Ovid, who advises in another part, the women of Rome to attend to the Greek language: *linguas edidicisse duas*. The expression in Juvenal, in his sixth satire (*omnia Græce*), and an epigram of Martial (Book X.), shew to us the common use of Greek in their times. Justin, in his two apologies, written at Rome, in Greek, addresses himself, not to the emperor, but *ἱεῶ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ δήμῳ παντὶ Ῥωμαίων*. Let us, in addition to this, consider, how great was the number of schools of rhetoric and grammar in the capital. These were in general private institutions. The Emperor Hadrian was the first who established a public seminary, or Athenæum, to which he himself frequently resorted.

But greater light will be thrown on this subject, by reflecting on the characters and countries of those, of whom the great mass of population consisted, and by whom that mass was generally influenced. These we find to be slaves and freedmen, physicians

and astrologers, and on each of these classes we shall make a few remarks.

When we consider the many wars in which the Romans were engaged against Grecian states, those against the Tarentines, the Sicilians, Pyrrhus of Epirus ; against the Acarnanians, against Nabis, and the Lacedæmonians, or that in which Perseus and his kingdom Macedonia were subdued by Paulus Emilius ; when we add the conquest of Illyria, when Anicius the pretor brought Gentius to Rome ; the Achaic war in which Corinth was destroyed, and the Mithridatic war, we cannot be surprised if the number of slaves at Rome should have been very great. But these were generally Greeks, as their names and various epigrams attest. These slaves and freedmen in the forum, in the shops of the capital, in the houses of citizens, could not fail, by frequent communication, to impart a knowledge of their tongue.

Before the time of Cornelius Celsus, no Roman had written on medical science. The first physician who arrived at Rome, was Archagathus, a Peloponnesian, who came in the year 535 U.C. The physicians whose names have been handed down to us by Pliny, and who lived at Rome, were all Greek, as Themison, Thessalus, Crinas, Eudemus, Charmis. These men necessarily, by the profession which they exercised, contributed to disseminate the language of their country.

A number of foreigners, chiefly Greeks, had arrived at Rome and parts of Italy, and under the names of *Astrologi* and *Chaldei*, insinuating themselves among the different classes of citizens, had imposed on their understandings. Their conduct had become so odious, that in the year 614 U.C. by an edict of C. Cornelius Hispallus Pretor Peregrinus, they were ordered to leave the city within ten days.

We are informed by Suetonius, that Augustus, while he was Pontifex Maximus, collected two thousand books of prophecy (*libros*

*fatidicos*) written in Greek, and commanded them to be burnt. In the year of the city 768, Tiberius expelled them from the city. These men are stigmatised by Tacitus in the following words: *Genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in urbe nostra vetabitur semper et retinebitur.*

3. Of the provinces through which the Greek language was disseminated, there seems to have been none in which it was so general, as in Syria. No argument on this head can be stronger, than the publication of the four gospels in that language. For although we might allow, that Saint Matthew had written his gospel in Hebrew, yet no person has ever been mentioned as having seen this original: and indeed the speedy disappearance of it, if it ever existed, shews that it was deemed perfectly unnecessary. *Exinde autem liquet, says Limborch, in his answer to Orobio, Græcam linguam omnibus ferme populis fuisse communem; ideo Matthæi evangelium in totius mundi usum mox in linguam Græcam est translatum; qua translatione approbata, ipsum exemplar Hebræum, quod solis ex Judeis conversis inservire tantum posse videbatur, non ea qua Græcum cura ac diligentia asservatum fuit. Responsio ad 3m. scriptum Judæi.*

The time to which we should refer the general diffusion of the Greek language in that country, is the period when, after the death of Alexander, Judea was conquered by the kings of Syria and by Antiochus Epiphanes. How many names of cities and towns we meet with which are purely Greek; among which are Ptolemais, Antipatris, Diospolis, Sebaste, Dafne, Neapolis. The money of Herod and Agrippa is inscribed with Greek characters; the same may be said of the money of Gadara, of Philadelphia, of Cesarea. From this last town were produced Eusebius, Pamphilus, and the sophist Acacius, who all wrote in Greek. So general indeed was the knowledge of that language in this province, that Pilate, in his inscription on the cross, thought it necessary not only to use Hebrew and Latin, but also Greek characters.



With regard to the provinces of Gaul and Spain, we learn from Strabo that the natives of those countries spoke the language peculiar to each of them. This was probably a dialect of the Phœnician. Two cities of Gaul adopted the languages of Greece and Rome. Marseilles had been founded by a colony of Greeks, and at Lyons a Roman colony was founded by Munatius Plancus. The same observation may be applied to the people who inhabited around the river Bœtis in Spain. We learn from Pliny in his third book, that nine Roman colonies had been founded there; and the activity of commerce most probably had introduced a diversity of idiom among them.

It is here necessary to notice four passages, which have occurred to us, as apparently contradictory to the statement that the Greek language was very generally diffused. These are to be met with in Pliny, Plutarch, Libanius, and Augustin.

In his second book, Pliny says, *Italiam numine divum electam quæ sparsa congregaret imperia ritusque molliret, et tot populorum discordes ferasque linguas sermonis commercio contraheret ad colloquia.*

The meaning of Pliny seems here to be, that the nations which the Romans had conquered had found it necessary to study the Latin language, in order that they might be able to converse and treat with the Romans on matters of public importance, and relating to affairs of political moment, for on these subjects the Romans admitted no other tongue. We know that, in the time of Pliny, many of the conquered nations retained their own particular language. Moreover, the expression *fera lingua* could never be applied by Pliny to the Greek language, the most harmonious and the most philosophic with which we are acquainted.

The passage of Plutarch, in the Platonic Questions, beginning ὡς δοκεῖ μοι περὶ Ῥωμαίων, may be explained in the same manner. The Roman tongue was studied for matters of public and political nature. We need not seek to shew, how partial the Greeks were to their own,

in preference to any other tongue, and how improbable it is that they ever should neglect it. Gregory Thaumaturgus says, “ our laws are written and delivered in the Roman tongue *καταπληκτικῇ μὲν καὶ ἀλλάζονι*. Michael Porphyrogenitus, in his letter to Nicolas I. had spoken with contempt of the Latin tongue. His expressions had been rather severe ; for the latter in answer says, *Hanc linguam quam barbaram vos et Scythicam appellatis*.

The passage in Libanius, in his book *De Fortuna sua*, is singular. He fears *μὴ ἐκκοπῶσιν ὅλως τάγε τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων*. At the very time that he was thus expressing his fears, least the Greek language should be neglected, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzen, and his own friend and protector, Julian, were writing in it, not to mention the names of many sophists and rhetoricians.

The opinion of Augustin, in the nineteenth book *De Civitate Dei*, may not surprise us, when we consider that he wrote and lived in Africa, in which country, from its vicinity to Rome and Italy, the Latin language had become known. Since the time of the second Punic war, when part of that country had been subdued, the communication between it and Rome had been very frequent, and the Latin tongue had succeeded to the more barbarous sounds of the Phœnician and Punic dialects.

Indeed, amidst all the encouragement which the Romans afforded to Grecian literature, we find that they did not fail to vindicate at times the dignity of their own language. The letter which they addressed to Pyrrhus, a Greek king, was written in Latin, as Gellius has informed us. Paulus Emilius, when he conquered Perseus, pronounced a speech in Latin, which was translated and explained in Greek by the Pretor Cncius Octavius. (Livy. V.) When the seat of empire had been removed to Byzantium the laws and rescripts were made in Latin, as we find by the Justinian and Theodosian code. In the oration which has been attributed to Synesius as well as to Themistius the Latin language is mentioned in these words, *τὴν διάλεκτον τὴν*

κρατούσαν, as it was doubtless used by the emperors, and to those about the court it would be therefore familiar. But as it appeared that the Latin had not sufficiently extended itself throughout the distant provinces of the empire, soon after that the Codex and Pandects of Justinian had been published, they were translated into Greek, and edited under the title of τῶν Βασιλικῶν. The Romans left to each nation the use of its own particular idiom; and the exclusive attention that might be shewn, as in the instances we have just mentioned, to their own language, did not interfere with the general regard with which the literature of Greece was viewed, or tend in any way towards inducing a neglect of it in the different parts of their empire.

From what was said above concerning the knowledge and cultivation of Greek among the Romans, we might conclude that they could not have been without libraries containing books in that language. Accordingly we find mention of them both public as well as private in different authors. The care and expense of Lucullus in procuring books were not less noble than his use of them. His libraries were open to all; and they were Greek; for there, says Plutarch, the Greeks were received as in an abode of the Muses. Cicero, in his third book *de Finibus*, indicates a similar library at Tusculum. When Sylla was returning from Asia to Italy, he landed at the Piræus, and took from Athens to Rome the library of Apellico the Teian. The library which was made public at Rome by Asinius Pollio (of which Pliny speaks in the seventh book) was probably Greek; for at that time there were few Latin writers. Cæsar had the intention of instituting public libraries in Greek as well as Latin; but was prevented by death. Augustus added a portico containing a library in the two languages to the Palatine palace. We find a proof that the volumes in these collections were generally Greek in this circumstance, that when Domitian wished to repair the libraries which had been burnt, he searched for copies in different parts, and

sent to Alexandria for persons to transcribe and correct. Hence we find that the superintendence of these libraries was given more frequently to Greeks than Romans: and the proportion seems to have been four of the former, to three of the latter: and to each a public salary was given. It may be added, that Dionysius who superintended a public library from the time of Nero to the days of Trajan was an Alexandrine Greek.

Might not the volumes found at Herculaneum have formed a part of a public institution of the nature of those of which we have been speaking? If they did not, what must have been the means and opulence of the individual who could have collected in those days, when the price of transcription amounted to a great sum, a library so numerous and so various!

I shall now proceed to offer some remarks, merely historical, on the state of the art of painting, before and under the reign of Titus, having neither opportunity, nor information to enable me to treat the subject on the large and extended plan which it deserves. This subject is connected with what has just preceded, as Greece influenced and directed the taste of the Romans in this art, as in literature, and even in the common affairs of life.

It does not appear that painting, as an art, was known in times prior to those of Homer. The word *Ζωγραφος* occurs neither in the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey*. *Γραφειν* is there used to represent or designate an object; and is never used in the acceptance of painting. The mistakes of those who have given to the art an earlier origin, seem to have arisen from confounding design and painting, two things essentially different. Under the reign of Alexander, the art reached a point of perfection which it seems never to have since attained. The age of the Cæsars is not mentioned by Pliny as having produced any among those paintings which formed part of the finest ornaments of the capital of the world. It has been supposed that many of the paintings at Herculaneum were copies of performances executed by

the hands of Grecian artists. It certainly deserves to be noticed, that the information which can be obtained from ancient authors relating to the artists who employed themselves in painting throughout Italy and Rome for many ages, leads us to infer that they were Greek. The names that we meet with from the time of Mummius, when the Romans first became acquainted with the art, to the age of the first emperors, are Greek : among them are Lala of Cyzicum, Sopolis, Dionysius, Timomachus. Of the few Romans who exercised themselves in painting Pliny has given us no favourable idea.

Does he commend Fabius Pictor ? this praise appears to us dictated rather by vanity or love of his nation, than to proceed from any striking merits of the artist. Considering the rusticity of the Romans at that time, the ignorance in which Rome herself was plunged, we think it very improbable that Fabius should have reached any extraordinary height in the works of his pencil. No mention is made of his travels into Greece or foreign countries to perfect himself. He had only covered (in the opinion of Caylus) the walls of the temple of Safety with some of those *monochromata* which Pliny mentions in describing the early commencements of the art.

From the time of Fabius to that of Pacuvius, an interval of 150 years, we hear of no Roman painter. This latter artist was a poet ; he might therefore have shewn some fancy and invention in his performances. But if his talents as a painter were only equalled by those which he possessed as a poet, his works could never have been an object of merited commendation.

Turpilius perhaps stood on a higher ground than the former. He might have travelled in Greece. We are surprised to find Pliny admiring him for executing his works with the left hand. In the life of Jouvenet it is mentioned that a few years before his death he painted with his left hand, as a paralytic affection had disabled the right. This is only stated as a singularity in the life of an artist who had always been accustomed to use the right arm.

From the paucity of the Roman artists, and the comparatively inferior merits possessed by them, and from the number of Grecian artists and their greater repute, we may fairly conclude that whatever shews any superiority in design or invention about this period may be properly ascribed to the latter. No Roman is mentioned as having distinguished himself in any particular branch of the art, Ludius excepted, who lived under the time of Augustus. Concerning him we shall have occasion shortly to speak.

It is not so easy to shew by whom these paintings were copied. We think that it is probable that they were the performances of some of the numerous freedmen possessed by the Romans, many of whom were employed in works of this kind. But we do not coincide with Winckelmann in supposing that they were Greeks by nation; our reasons for dissenting may be seen in the notes to the edition of his work, published by the Abate Fea, to which we refer.

But that there should be a general decline of taste in this art about this period ought by no means to surprise us. Let us examine the state of the art during a few years preceding this time. Vitruvius had already declaimed with severity against the custom introduced in his time of covering the walls of houses and rooms with insignificant pictures which did not occupy or instruct the mind. (L. VIII. c. 3.) Such putid performances are condemned by Lucian when he says, "I should wish in pictures to see not only cities and mountains, but also men, and to remark that, which they do and say." (Op. II. 497.)

In fact, under the reign of Augustus, a new style of painting had been introduced by Ludius, according to Pliny; but was only continued, according to Vitruvius, by him; that of adorning the chambers with views of scenery relating to the country, to woods, and groves, and sea objects. It is not so much against this, as another style, that Vitruvius directs his censure in the passage which we submit, with a translation, to the reader. "*Pro columnis enim statuuntur*

*calami, pro fastigiis barpaginetuli striati cum crispis foliis et volutis. Item candelabra adicularum sustentia figuras supra fastigia earum; surgentes ex radicibus cum volutis coliculi teneri plures, habentes in se sine ratione sedentia sigilla, non minus etiam ex coliculis flores dimidiata habentes ex se exeuntia sigilla, alia humanis, alia bestiarum capitibus similia."* L. VII. c. 5. "Instead of columns are placed reeds, instead of pediments are arabesques fluted, with crisped leaves and vine tendrils; also candelabra supporting figures over the front of small houses; many tender stalks rising from roots with volutes including in them small figures sitting, without any meaning; also flowers springing from stalks having half busts rising out of them; some like human heads, some like those of beasts."

It may be remarked, that drawings of this nature are to be seen among those of Herculaneum; so that this bad style had continued from the days of Augustus to those of Titus. Let the reader turn to the 3d and 4th volumes of the pictures of Herculaneum, and examine in the former the 56, 57, 58, 59th tables, and in the latter, table 56, and 65; he will find that they illustrate the above passage of Vitruvius.

We should not omit to state here the causes of this decline mentioned by Pliny (35, 1) and by Petronius (324); the former of whom says, that the taste for works in precious marbles and gold had become so great, that with these they covered their walls instead of pictures. The latter complains partly of the insatiable desire possessed by the wealthy to plunge into all kinds of vice, and partly of a torpidity of spirit, that led them to hold in no esteem the masterpieces of antiquity, or to render them the object of critical enquiry. In another part (p. 10) he mentions the decline of the art; but the passage, in which he alludes to it, is difficult, and has hitherto baffled the ingenuity of critical research: "*Pictura quoque non alium exitum fecit, postquam Ægyptiorum audacia tam magnæ artis compendiariam invenit.*" The above circumstances, together with the

spirit of tasteless innovation mentioned by Vitruvius, leave us at no loss hardly to account for the low state of the art under Titus.

Let us here consider in what manner some of the emperors themselves, between the time of Augustus and Titus, affected the art, and hurried it on towards a rapid decline.

The licentious excesses of Tiberius during his residence at Capreae are well known. How his rooms were there painted, we are informed by Suetonius. The complaints of Clemens Alexandrinus may be well applied on this occasion; "laying aside all shame they paint in their houses the infamous connections of the genial deities; and are pleased with immodest pictures hung on high, as the ornament of the nuptial chamber." *Πρὸς τὴν Παιδείαν*. The successors of Tiberius gave instances of their depraved and vitiated taste. Caius was prompted, *libidine accensus*, to endeavour to take away from the temple of Lanuvium the figures of Atalanta and Helen, who were represented naked. Claudius from a picture of Apelles consecrated to the public by Augustus effaced the head of Alexander and placed instead of it that of Augustus. The extravagance of Nero is well known; he caused himself to be painted of the height of 120 feet, on cloth; no piece of metal or wood was found to suffice. But whatever ignorance, or contempt, or bad taste might be shewn by this emperor in these respects, should in some degree be imputed to the lessons of his preceptor Seneca, who has excluded sculpture and painting from the liberal arts.

It was at this period of the decline and fall of the art, that Pliny came forward, and addressed his work on Natural History to Titus, then Consul the sixth time. In the month of March of the succeeding year Titus was on the throne, and Pliny died in the following November. If, in after times, painting received encouragement and patronage, it was doubtless owing to the excellent writings of this man. It was his design to inspire the Romans with an esteem and taste for the fine arts, the only field on which they had disdained to



enter into competition with Greece. We find Cicero in more places than one complaining of this contempt of the monuments of art (Tus. i. c. 2.; in Verrem Act. 2. 1. ) ; and Virgil was obliged to seek for another source of praise than in their encouragement of the arts, when he makes Anchises exclaim,

*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,  
Hæ tibi erunt artes.*

## DISSERTATION VII.

*On the Materials on which the Ancients wrote.*


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 BY THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM DRUMMOND.
 

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I HAVE thought it might not be uninteresting to some of our readers, if I briefly describe the materials on which the ancients were accustomed to write.

1. *Tables of stone.*—Some of the oldest monuments of the graphic art, of which we hear, were inscriptions on stones and bricks. The Decalogue, as every one knows, was written on tables of stone. Josephus says, that the immediate descendants of Seth inscribed an account of things invented (τὰ εὐρημμένα) on two columns, one of which was of bricks, the other of stones. According to Epigenes, the ancient Chaldæans wrote the history of their astronomical observations on bricks. Kircher thinks, that the most ancient hieroglyphics were commonly engraved on stones. Porphyry makes mention of stone columns which were found in Crete, and on which some account of the mysteries of the Corybantes was written. The inscriptions on columns often recorded events in history, and discoveries in science, and accordingly to them the ancient historians, Sanchoniatho and Herodotus, acknowledge their obligations.

The Greeks began to engrave on stones at a very early period; and we may believe the same thing of the Etruscans, since, as Laurentius observes, uncial letters were generally inscribed by the

Romans on the stones called *termini*. My reader will find many old and curious inscriptions, copied from stones in the collections of Gruter, Reinesius, Grævius, Montfaucon, and Muratori.

With all this evidence, however, I am inclined to think, that the first essays in the art of writing must have been made on softer materials than stones. It may be observed, without adverting to the absurd stories told about the books of Adam and Enoch, that we hear of books, before any thing is said of stone tables: *Scribe hoc ob monumentum in libro*. (Exod. 17.) In the targum of Jonathan, the passage is thus given: *Scribe hoc in memoriam in libro seniorum priscorum*. It is true, that the Hebrew word ספר, which originally signified an enumeration, or register, is nowise significative of the form or materials; but its frequent use in subsequent parts of the Old Testament, where it is rightly translated a book, seems to determine its meaning here; and Calmet must have been mistaken when he asserted that the LXX. always render it by ἀξόως, since in the copy of the Septuagint, which now lies before me, it is translated βιβλίον.

2. *Tablets of lead*.—These are thought by some to be of extreme antiquity: *Quis mihi dat ut exarentur in libro stylo ferreo, et plumbi lamina, vel celte sculptantur in silice*. This version is inaccurate. The Hebrew is better rendered in our English translation: *That they (my words) were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock forever!* The meaning is, that Job wished his words to be inscribed with an iron instrument in the rock, and that the incisions should be filled up with lead.

There can be no doubt, however, that the use of leaden tablets was very ancient. Pausanias (in *Boeoticis*) mentions that the works of Hesiod were written on lead. According to Pliny, the public documents were written in leaden volumes, after the use of the *pugilares* was laid aside. Vossius has rashly censured Pliny for having employed *volumina pro laminis*. In the commentary of Æneas Polior-

ceticus, who lived about the fourteenth Olympiad, we are informed that the women conveyed secret intelligence by means of little leaden volumes which they wore as ear-rings. Dio writes, *ἐς ελασμον μολυβδῶ λεπίον ἐγγράψαντες τινα ἀπειλιζαν αὐλον ὡσπερ τι χαρβῆιον*, &c.

These passages are sufficient to justify the expression of Pliny. It appears, indeed, that the leaden plates were so extremely thin, that they might be easily rolled up. Æneas Poliorceticus tells us, that they were beaten with a hammer, until they were rendered very thin and pliable; that they were sometimes sowed up between the soles of the shoes; that even the messenger who carried them was ignorant of the circumstance; and that while he slept, the correspondent to whom they were addressed, unsowed the shoes, read the letters, replaced others, and thus carried on a secret intercourse without suspicion.

3. *Wooden tablets*.—Calmet pretends that the Jews wrote upon wooden tablets from the most remote antiquity. He cites the words of Job, *ut exarentur in libro*; and he takes it for granted that this book was of wood. The word ספר, as I have before observed, does not indicate the materials. The passages which Calmet quotes from Isaiah and Jeremiah, are still less to the purpose: *Scribe ei super buxum, et in libro diligenter exara illud*. This version is unfaithful; it should be, *scribe ei super tabulas* (לוחות); and the tables might have been of stone or of metal. The first verse of the seventeenth chapter of Jeremiah proves that the Jews were in the habit of inscribing with an iron instrument: but it by no means shows that they wrote upon wood. There is, however, a passage in the fourth book of Kings, which Calmet quotes from the Vulgate, and which, if it had been faithful to the original, would have determined the question in his favour: *et delebo Jerusalem, sicut deleri solent tabule; et delens vertam, et ducam crebrius stylum super faciem ejus*. Now this version, as well as that of the LXX. is totally unlike the original, which is rendered with sufficient fidelity in the English translation of the Bible; and I

*will wipe Jerusalem as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it, and turning it upside down.*

Eustathius asserts, that the practice of writing on wooden tablets existed among the Greeks from the most remote antiquity: and Pliny, adverting to a passage in Homer, says, that the use of the *pugillares* was introduced before the Trojan war. A modern writer, Martorelli, contends, that the Greeks had never been in the custom of writing on wood, until the arts had begun to decline, and he boldly challenges any examples of it to be shewn. The verses of the Iliad, to which Pliny alluded, he asserts to be spurious :

Πεμπε δε μιν Λυκιηρδε πορεν δ' ογε σημάλα λυγρα  
Γραψας εν πινακι πηκλιω θυμοφθορα πολλα.

Our critic pretends, that the *σημάλα λυγρα*, and *θυμοφθορα πολλα* are redundancies ; that there is nothing Homeric in the style ; and that wooden tablets could not be folded. I do not perceive, that there is any redundancy here, or any thing which is not in good taste. Bentley was a tolerable judge, and he remarked the *ογε* as Homeric. Homer did not mean a folded piece of wood by *πινακι πηκλιω*, but a wooden tablet with two leaves. In the story which Herodotus tells of Demaratus, he employs the expression *δελτιον διπτυχον*. Homer himself has employed the word *δελχος* in a manner that cannot leave much doubt, not only of his having been acquainted with the art of writing, but of his having himself written on wooden tablets. (*Vide in Batr.* 3.) I must, however, quit the criticisms of Martorelli, to enumerate the tablets of wood on which the Greeks were accustomed to write.

The *αξονες* were square tablets, made sometimes of brass, and sometimes of wood. Aulus Gellius says, that the laws of Solon were written on wooden *axones* ; and the lines, as Calmet remarks, were written alternately from right to left, and from left to right, in the manner which the Greeks called *boustrophedon*. The *κυρβεις* were

triangular pieces of wood, or stone ; or rather they were pyramids having three sides. The laws were also written on these ; but, if I do not err, it was chiefly those laws which related to religious institutions. By the words *δελιον*, and *δελιον* its diminutive, the Greeks often meant generally a book ; though the *δελιον* properly signified a wooden tablet which had the form of the letter Δ. Yet I suspect that this is not the etymon. Jeremiah writes *דלתות* for books, *דלת* signifies a door. The *delton* might have been so called from its having folding leaves like doors and gates. It appears from a passage in the *Hippolitus* of Euripides, that the *delton* was generally made of the wood of the pine-tree. The *πιναξ* was a square board on which the Greeks were accustomed to write :

Αλλα θ' ὅμνε πινακας τε νεων και σωμαῖα φῶτων  
Κυμαθ' αλος φορεεσι πυρος τ' ολοοιο θυελλαι.

Aristotle has quoted this passage (*περι θαυμασιων ανεσμων*) but throws no light upon the word in question. That it was employed, however, in the time of Homer to signify tablets for writing on, I think indubitable. Concerning the origin of this word I confess myself embarrassed. We may reasonably conjecture, however, that most Greek words, which relate to the art of writing, or to the materials employed in it, are derived from the Phœnician, or Egyptian, which were cognate dialects, though in different degrees, with the Hebrew and Chaldaic. In this last tongue we find that the word which signified *to educate* was *pinac*. Might not the tables on which children were probably taught their letters have thence their name ? No works of any length appear to have been written on these tablets, on which the Greeks were accustomed to write the indexes, and the heads of chapters. *Πινακιον* was the name of the wooden tablet on which the judges, or members of any public assembly, wrote their sentence, or vote. The *πινακίς* was the board on which the wax intended for writing on was spread. *Σανίς* was yet

another name for a wooden tablet. It appears to me to be derived from ענף a branch, and properly a branch of the palm-tree, of the wood of which the σανίδες were probably originally made. Πευκη is used by Euripides to signify a tablet, which was of course made of the wood of the pine-tree. The Πυξιον was a tablet so called from the box-tree, of the wood of which it was made. The Jews classed the box-tree among pines, and distinguished it by the general appellation ראשון, which means eminent, excellent, fortunate, *quia est felicissima, præstantissima inter omnes species cedrorum* (Buxtorf. Lex. p. 57.) Now the word פוק (*pauk* or *peck*) in Phœnician signified high or eminent. It was a general name given to persons, or to things, which might claim it by rank, fortune, value, or even local situation. Thus Bochart shews that it was given to persons living in mountainous countries, and the Arabians denote men who are rich, or powerful, by a word which is composed of the same radicals. It appears then that the Phœnician word was the equivalent of the Hebrew; and πυξιον derives itself so easily from פוק, that I am led to believe that this last word might have borne the same sense with ראשון, which comes from ראש *beatus, excellens*. The αεαξ was a square piece of wood, and was generally understood of those boards on which mathematicians drew their diagrams. (*See Iamblichus in Vit. Pythag.*) I derive αεαξ from עב *ab*, a beam of wood.

4. *Waxen tablets.* These tablets were prepared by spreading over a board a layer of wax melted together with resin.

Martorelli denies that the Greeks and Romans were in the habit of writing on tablets of wax until the time of Augustus. I shall give up to him the passages which he has cited, and which he explains after his own manner; but among several proofs which might be quoted against him, I shall ask for an interpretation of the following lines, if the Greeks did not write on tablets of wax:

Συ δε λαμπροῦ φαιος ἀμπελάσας  
Δέλτον ἢ γραφεῖς

Τηνδ', ἣν προ χερῶν ἐῖ βασιλῆεις  
 Καὶ ταύτῃ παλιν γραμμᾷ συγχρῆεις,  
 Καὶ σφραγίζεις, λυεῖς τ' ὀπίσω,  
 Ριπῆεις τε πεδῶ πευκην, δις.

*Iphig. in Aul.*

It may be proper to say something in this place of the composition which the ancients called *Maltha*. This appears to have been of several kinds. That described by Pliny (L. 36. c. 24.) does not appear to have been used for writing on. The mixture of wax and resin, which was employed for writing on, was however also called *maltha* (*Vide Steph. Lex. in voce μαλθα*). This word seems originally to have signified mortar, or rather clay, as is indeed indicated by Pliny. (*Vide in loco citato, et in L. 2. c. 104.*) H. Stephens says, that he was unable to discover its etymon. It is evidently derived from the Syriac *ܡܠܬܐ* *argilla*. In the Talmud, *melta*, or *melata*, is used to signify plaster, and *milat* in Arabic signifies mortar. Jeremiah (c. 43.) has employed this word to signify clay. The passage is wrongly translated both in the Septuagint and Vulgate, and though not very clear in the original, is unintelligible in them.

5. *Tablets of brass.* Plutarch mentions that a plate of brass, having Egyptian characters engraved upon it, was found at Thebes in Boeotia. According to Pollux, the laws of Solon were written on tablets of brass. Dionysius of Halycarnassus remarks, that the ancient Romans inscribed their laws on oaken tables, because they were not yet in the use of writing upon brass. It is mentioned by Polybius, that the treaty made between the Romans and Carthaginians at the end of the first Punic war, was written on brazen tables. In the passage to which I have just alluded, Polybius calls them *χαλκωμάλα*; but in other places he has employed the word *σηλη*, and I observe Dionysius of Halicarnassus has done the same. It would appear from Pollux and Suidas, that those pieces of brass, on which the public documents were written, were of a cubical form.



6. *Ivory Tablets.* It has been doubted by some writers, whether these were in use among the ancients; thus they understand the *libri elephantini* to have signified parchments made of the *omentum* of the elephant. But this notion may be easily refuted. *Quod si libri in codicibus sint membraneis, vel chartaceis, vel etiam eboreis, &c. (Ulpian).* The custom of cutting the teeth of the elephant into thin slices probably existed very early; and Pliny (L. 8. c. 3.) says that they had lately begun to saw the bones of this animal from want of the teeth, which, he observes, are alone of ivory. I am therefore inclined to believe, that the *libri elephantini*, of which Vopiscus speaks (*in Vita Tacita Imperatoris*), were ivory.

7. *Skins and parchments.* Montfaucon thinks that the books of the old testament were written on skins; Calmet, that the Jews wrote on the *papyrus*. But Pliny says that the *papyrus* was not employed until the time of Alexander; and even those writers who have controverted this point, admit that it was not in general use before that period.

Montfaucon has enumerated the different Greek names by which the skins and parchments used in writing were called. As, however, this writer has made no remarks on them, I shall endeavour, as briefly as I can, to supply the deficiency. The *διφθεραι* were generally the skins of sheep, goats, and kids. Herodotus gives the following account of them: *Και τας βιβλος διφθερας καλεουσι απο τε παλαια Ιωνες, ος κολε εν σπανει βιβλων εχρεωνηο διφθερης αιγειησι τε και οιεησι. Ες δε και το κατ' εμε πολλοι των Βαβυλωνων ες τοιαυτας διφθερας γραφουσι.* *Prisca consuetudine biblos Iones appellant pelles, quod aliquando penuria biblorum Ægypti et Syriæ pellibus caprinis ovillisque utebantur: adhuc quoque ad meam memoriam multi barbarorum talibus in pellibus scribunt.* Major Rennet conjectures with much apparent probability, that *διφθερα* comes from the Persian word *difthur*, which has the same signification. *Σωμάριον* has been used, though I believe rarely, and by no classical

author, to signify a book. By the *σωματίαι*, when employed in a figurative sense, were more generally understood, those decorations of the scene which the French call *les coulisses*. *Δερμα* signifies generally the skin. I do not remember to have seen it employed, when skins were spoken of as materials for writing on. The *Περγαμεναι* were so called from certain parchments in the library of the Kings of Pergamus: *Mox æmulatione* (says Pliny) *circa bibliothecas regum Ptolomæi et Eumenis, supprime chartas Ptolomæo, idem Varro membranas Pergami tradidit repertas*. The same story is told by Ælian and Hieronymus with little variation. The word *μεμβράνα* is of Latin origin.

I am unable to fix the time when the Romans first began to write on skins and parchments. Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions that an ancient treaty between the Romans and the Gabini was written on a wooden shield, which had been previously covered with the skin of the ox, which had been sacrificed when the two parties had settled the terms of agreement.

8. *The bark of trees*. This was what the Greeks properly understood by *xylochartion*; and Montfaucon is accurate when he says, *corticea charta differt a papyrea*. The former was thick and brittle: the latter finer, and less liable to be broken. Before the use of the *papyrus* became general, the bark of the *philyra*, a species of the linden tree, was generally employed for writing on; and books written on it existed even in the time of Ulpian, who thus makes mention of them: *Librorum appellatione continentur omnia volumina, sive in charta, sive in membrana sint, sive in quarvis alia materia; sed si in philyra, aut in tilia, ut nonnulli conficiunt, aut in quo alio corio, idem erit dicendum*. From a passage in Plutarch, in the life of Pyrrhus, it has been thought by some that the bark of the oak was employed for writing on. Cedrenus, in his annals, says that *φλοιος* was used properly to signify a book.

9. *Leaves of trees*. Before the use of the *papyrus* became general

the ancients were accustomed to write on the leaves of palm trees (See Pliny, L. 13. c. 10.). The leaves of the plant, which we call the mallow, was employed for the same purpose :

*Levis in aridulo malvæ descripta libello,  
Prusiaca vixi munera navicula.*

10. *Linen books.* *Postea publica monumenta*, says Pliny, *plumbeis voluminibus, mox et privata linteis confici capta, aut ceris.* Livy makes mention of linen books as containing information which could not be found in public documents (L. 4. c. 7.). We find from Vopiscus, that the Emperor Aurelian had his journal, or diary, written in linen books: *Quæ omnia ex libris linteis, in quibus ipse quotidiana sua scribi præceperat, pro tua sedulitate condiscas.* I am inclined to think, that by these linen books the Romans only meant their tablets of wax, which were prepared by stretching a piece of linen over a board, to which it was made to adhere by some glutinous substance, and then laying the wax over the linen. Thus in Plautus: *Effer cito. P. Quid? C. Stilum, ceram, tabellas, et linum.* Again, *per ceram, et linum, literasque interpretes*, &c. (*Vide in Bacchid. et in Pseud.*) From the materials which are mentioned here, it may be fairly conjectured, I think, that they were employed as I have described above.

## DISSERTATION VIII.

*Paleographical Observations on the Herculanean Manuscripts. Written at Palermo in the Year 1807.*

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BY ROBERT WALPOLE.

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THE Herculanean manuscripts which are in Mr. Drummond's house are all Greek, one excepted; that is a fragment of a Latin heroic poem; there is much spirit in part of it; sometimes there is a quaintness and antithesis not unlike Lucan. This is a line: *Consiliis nox apta ducum, lux aptior armis*. The author mentioning the design of Cleopatra to kill herself, ends a verse with, *trahiturque libidine mortis*.

The Greek MSS. amount to more than eighty; they are all without an accent or spirit; they are beautifully written; the letters are capitals; there is no distinction between the words; the forms of the letters are various: the alphabets, therefore, which will be formed from them, must be important to those who interest themselves in paleographical researches.

Coins and ancient inscriptions, in capital letters, present no accent, no spirit. I say nothing about the H in the Sigeon or the Athenian inscription of the time of the Peloponnesian war, or those on the *Columnæ Farnesianæ*; these are well known. The digamma is to be seen on the coins of Elis, inscribed FAΛ; which formerly were given by numismatic writers to the Falisci. See p. 13 of Mr. Knight's Essay on the Greek Alphabet.

There is a very ancient manuscript in the library at Florence ; the title is in capitals, and accented thus: ΜΑΝΈΘΩΝΟC ΑΠΟΤΕ-ΛΕCΜΑΤΙΚΩΝ ΒΙΒΑΪΟΝ. Salvinio sent the account of it to Wetstein ; such examples of accentuation are rare. If any manuscripts be written in the *character cursivus*, and be found at Herculaneum, they may probably be accented. The inscription found there is in that character, and accented. On this I shall have to say something presently.

The circumstance of the MSS. being written in capitals sufficiently accounts for the want of accents ; is it not always so ? inscriptions and coins are in capitals and unaccented. Why they did not accent capital letters, is a question which we are not prepared to answer. Wetstein says, that the critics and grammarians kept the mysteries of accentuation to themselves, and to certain authors. This latter part of the assertion is true ; the grammarians, and those who attended to accent, exercised themselves particularly on the works of the poets ; on none so much as Homer. I shall here bring forward some passages which will prove this ; and will at the same time shew the great attention and accuracy employed on the subject of accentuation.

Callimachus the poet was a celebrated grammarian : he lived, says Suidas, until the the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, about the 133d Olympiad. He wrote many scholia on the ancient poets. There were accented copies of Homer in his time. On the first line of the third Iliad we read : *It is first asked, how we ought to pronounce αυταρ : for some have read it with an acute accent on the last syllable, as Callimachus : 'Οξύτόνως γαρ ανεγνωκασι τινες, ως Καλλιμαχος.*

The Scholiast on Aristophanes, Av. 599, quotes him as circumflexing γαυλος on the penultimate, when it means a boat ; when it signifies a vessel, it is oxytonated.

Apollonius the poet was a scholar of Callimachus ; he is quoted on the Plutus of Aristophanes, 103 : *Analogy puts the grave on*

πιθου, as says Apollonius. Aristophanes of Byzantium lived in the 145th Olympiad; he is the person generally said to have invented accents (see Montfaucon Paleo.) What this meant, I never could understand; what is said of Callimachus above shews that he must have had before him an accented copy of Homer and Aristophanes. The authority of Aristophanes of Byzantium, with regard to accentuation, is referred to in the Nubes, v. 1149, on the word *απαισολη*.

Aristarchus lived in the 156th Olympiad; he was preceptor to the son of Ptolemy Philadelphus; we have this notice of him given us by Joannes Charax: *With good reason, in the commencement of the Odyssey, Aristarchus would not give two acutes to ἀνδρα μοι, but only one to αν.* Εὐλογῶς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ὀδυσσεύας, Ἀριστάρχος οὐκ ἐβουλήθη δύναι εἰς τὸν ἀνδρα μοι δύο ὀξείας, ἀλλὰ μίαν εἰς τὸ αν. Aristarchus says the Scholiast on the Equites, 485, writes *κρᾶγον* with an acute, instead of *κρᾶυγαστικῶς*. Eustathius on Odys. ρ refers to him: *the pleasure of Aristarchus has prevailed that the circumflex should be on Ζαφειλῶς.* Ἐπεκράτησε ἡ τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου ἐπὶ τῷ περισπασμῷ ἀρεσκεία, p. 266, edit. Basil, 1559, tom. iii.

After these men come Dionysius Thrax, and Didymus, from his great application called Brazen-bowels, *χαλκέντερος*: Tryphon (quoted by Ammonius), who wrote a book called *Ἀττικὴ προσαῖδια*; Symmachus, who is referred to with Didymus, in the scholium on the word *εποποι* in the Aves, v. 59; Heraclides, mentioned by Eustathius, p. 681, t. iii. Basil edit. *ὅτι δὲ ὀρω κανονικῶς περισπᾶται, Ἡρακλείδης δὴλοι.*

We must not omit Athenæus, who must have had before him an accented copy of Euripides, and Eupolis, when he says, *in the tragic and comic writers, χερνίβα is read with an acute on the penultimate, παροξύτονως ἀνεγνώσται χερνίβα.* The same Athenæus informs us, that *φιλομαχος* has an acute on the antepenultimate in Pindar, and *πυγμαχες* in Stesichorus on the penultimate. L. 4.

The accents that we have thus found used by Callimachus and others, might be the same marks and signs which Aristotle alludes

to, when he says, *it is a part of rhetoric to know how to use the tones, such as the acute, and grave, and middle, or circumflex*: Πως τοις τονοις, οιον, οῤεια, και βαρεια, και μεση. Rhet. l. 3. c. i.—There can be no reason for supposing that they should be different; I do not mean to say that Dionysius Thrax gives the best explanation of the form of accents; but the following passage shews that he considers them, as having retained the same unvaried form and number: *Why are there three tones? because there are three manners in which men move themselves when they run; for either a man runs erect, and imitates the acute; or bending, and imitates the grave; or like a man in a chariot, and imitates the circumflex*: Διατι εἰσι τρεις τονοι; διοτι τρεις τροποι εἰσι των κινουντων εαυτους προς δρομον· η γαρ ορθως τις τρεχει, και μιμεται την οῤειαν, η κεκυφτως, και μιμεται την βαρειαν, η ηνιοχειτικως, και μιμεται την περισπωμενην. Nor is there any reason for supposing that the grammarians of later ages differed from what had been laid down by the critics and grammarians of former times. Lascaris indeed asserts that they did not; at least, all he gives, he drew, he says, from Herodian, Maximus Planudes, Theodosius, Chæroboscus, Phrynichus, Thomas Magister, Pollux.

The want of accents in capital letters might sometimes occasion mistakes in reading; this in fact did happen. I translate the following from Aristotle's treatise *περι σοφιστικων ελεγχων*. *Some defend Homer against those who blame him, as if he had absurdly said,*

*το μεν οὔ καταπυθεται αμβρο, (instead of οὔ). They get rid of the charge by the accent, saying that ου is to have the acute on it. και του Ομηρον ενιοι διορθουνται προς ελεγχοντας, ως ατοπως ειρηκοτα, το μεν κ. τ. λ. λουσσι γαρ αυτο τη προσωδια λεγοντες το ου οὔτερον.* The valuable commentator on this treatise, Alexander of Aphrodisias, says, *Hippias the Thasian reads ου not circumflexed, but negatively, and which he pronounced with an acute accent*: Ιππιας ο Θασιος μη περισπωμενως αναγνωσκων το ου, αλλ' αποφαντικως, οπερ αυτος οὔτουνως ειρηκεν, p. 15. Floren. 1521.

Aristotle gives us another instance ; they defend also what relates to the dream of Agamemnon, because Jupiter himself did not say *δίδομεν* δε οι ευχος αρεσθαι (with the acute on *δι* ; the first person plural) but ordered Dream *διδόναι* (the infinitive). και το μεν περι το ευπνινω του Αγαμεμνονος, οτι ουκ αυτος ο Ζευς ειπεν *δίδομεν* κ. τ. λ. αλλα τω ευπνινω επετελετο *διδόναι*. The comment of Alexander is worth translating. *If, says he, a man read the passage, putting an accent on δίδομεν, he makes Jove a liar, as promising to give victory, and not realising his promise ; but if it be read, putting an accent on δο, you will both absolve Jove from lying, and Homer will be blameless, as then Jove is speaking to Dream, and ordering that Dream should give glory to Agamemnon, and not Jove himself ; and therefore Dream promises glory to Agamemnon, and lies, and not Jupiter.*" *Ει γουν το δίδομεν δε οι ευχος αρεσθαι αναγνω τις τον τονον θεις εις το δίδομεν, τον Δια ποιει ψευδομενον, ως υποσχνουμενον δίδοναι την νικην, και μη εις εργον εξαγοντα την υποσχνεσιν· ει δε εις το δο τον τονον θεις αναγνω το εξης, και τον Δια του ψευδεσθαι απολυσεις, και τω Ομηρω περιποιησεται το ανεγκλητον, ως του Διος λεγοντος τω ονειρω και επιταττοντος, δίδομεναι αυτον τον ονειρον το ευχος τω Αγαμεμνονι, και μη αυτου του Διος. και γουν ο ονειρος υποσχνειται τω Αγαμεμνονι το ευχος και ψευδεται, και ουκ ο Ζευς αυτος, p. 15.* It deserves to be mentioned that Alexander Aphrodisiensis says, that he could not find any where in Homer the part of the verse alluded to. He thinks that Aristotle was the author of it : Αυτον δε πλασασθαι το του στιχου τεμμαχιον.

I cannot quit this part of the subject, without translating another singular passage from the commentator whom I have already quoted, relating to the error which might arise from reading Greek written without accent. *In conversation, says he, and discussion, a man will not deceive you when he says,*

εταιρα χρυσια ει φοροη δημοσια εστω,

*for the speaker is intelligible, whether he utter the sentence with an acute on the penultima of δημοσια, or perchance if he accent it on the ante-*



*penultima ; having once spoken, he has signified his meaning ; but if the word δημοσια be in writing without accent, then indeed he introduces a paralogism.* Εν μὲν ομιλίᾳ καὶ διαλεξεί οὐκ ἀπατήσῃ ποτὲ ὁ λεγὼν, ‘ εταῖρα χρευσία εἰ φοροῖ δημοσια ἐστὼ,’ εἰληπταὶ γὰρ ὁ λεγὼν παροξυτονῶς τὸν λόγον ἐξενεγκῶν ἢ τυχόν καὶ προπαροξυτονῶς. Ἀπαξ γὰρ εἰρηκῶς, ἐσημαίνει τὸ ἐαυτοῦ βουλήμα· εἰ δὲ ἐν γραφῇ εἴη κείμενον τὸ δημοσια, οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ ἐχόν, τότε δῆτα καὶ τὸν παρὰλογισμόν ἐπαγεί. p. 14. In the edition which I use, which is that of the Greek text, printed by itself at Florence, 1591, the last words are παρὰλογισμόν ἀπεικῇ, which not understanding, I have altered into ἐπαγεί, for want of a better word. This word however is used in a passage preceding this, in the same sense. It is hardly worth observing, that the mistake which Alexander intimates, as likely to be made from absence of accent, is this: *Should a courtesan wear golden ornaments, let her be public; or let them be confiscated.* Such and other mistakes happened when the capital letters were employed, and accents not placed. It is true that the antiquity of the language of Homer, and writers after him to a certain age, might have made it more necessary to use accents to explain and illustrate what was ambiguous. Yet might not mistakes happen in reading some works in prose of a later date? Among the Herculanean MSS. are the works of Epicurus. In a manuscript on rhetoric, are the lines of Homer, *τρεῖς μακάρες Δαναοὶ κ. τ. λ.*; yet is there no distinction, no mark.

The difficult and complex subject of accent and quantity has been much discussed. It would appear, that the ancients had some method of making the accentual process harmonise with a just regard to quantity. The study of accent was a part of their earliest education; “*after this,*” says Dion. Halic. talking of the grammatical part of education, *we learn words, and their accidents, I mean their extension; and shortening; and accent; and things of the like kind.* Μετὰ τοῦτο ἡδὴ τὰς λέξεις, καὶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐταῖς, ἐκτασεῖς τε λεγὼν, καὶ συστολάς, καὶ προσωδίας, καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τοῦτοις. περὶ συν. ὀνομ. τμήμα κε.

It was in vain that Demosthenes attempted to introduce a new accentuation of some words ; he swore, says Plutarch, by Æsculapius, putting the acute on the antepenultima, *ωμνυε δε και τον Ασκληπιον, προπαροξυνων Ασκληπιον*. See the *βιοι των δεκα ρητορων*. This he did, says our author, *νεωτερικως* ; he afterwards corrected himself, and called it *Ασκληπιόν*. At another time, when he said *μίσθωτος*, the ears of the Athenians were immediately offended ; as far as we can find, he said this with a particular purpose in view ; Ulpian's note is this ; *some have asserted that the orator willingly and with intention committed the barbarism in saying μίσθωτος ; then some one caught him up, as it were correcting him, and exclaimed in the proper accent μισθωτός.*" *τινες ειρηκασιν οτι εκων εν τῷ ερωταν ο ρητωρ εβαρβαρησεν εζεπιτηδες, μίσθωτος λεγων· ειτα επελαβετο τις αυτου, ως διορθουμενος και εβοησε τῷ ιδιω τονῳ μισθωτός. ειτα την διορθωσιν αποκρισιν και βελαιωσιν ειρηκεν*, edit. Wolf. p. 529. The remark of Ulpian will be clearly understood by referring to the passage in the oration *de Corona*.

The learned Coray speaks much in favour of the pronunciation of his countrymen, the modern Greeks. The first sounds which strike a stranger's ears are certainly not much in favour of his assertion ; you hear *ανθρωπος* instead of *ανθρωπος*, and *κεφαλη* with an elongated α, and written with the acute on the α, instead of *κεφαλῃ*, as the ancients wrote it. It is in consequence of their total disregard of all quantity, that so many blunders on this head occur in what they write, as metrical compositions, whether in hexameter, or hexameter and pentameter.

But this is not the subject before us : let us recur to the Greek inscription found at Herculaneum. In the Pitt. Antiche di Ercolano, vol. 2. p. 34, is the following account : *On the 6th March, 1743, at Resina, on a wall which formed the angle of a street leading to the Theatre, was found written in black and red letters, &c. ; a fac-simile is then given of the inscription, which is as follows :*

*ως εν σοφον βουλευμα τας πολλας χειρας νικα.*

It is an iambic verse of Euripides, to be found in a fragment of the Antiope, and is to be read thus :

Σοφὸν γὰρ ἐν βουλευμᾷ τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας  
νικᾷ.

It is written in the character *cursivus*, and has the accents and spirits marked.

In a work of Schotz are some remarks on this inscription ; they are directed to the supposed age of the inscription ; the book probably is not to be found easily, I shall therefore state some of the observations.

This inscription, as containing a moral maxim, was exposed, as was frequently the case with other sentences of the like nature, to public observation. This surely supposes a character in use, and known to all. How then does it happen, that, among the Greek inscriptions of the ages before Titus, and after, which have been published, no inscription until the sixth century should ever have been seen written in that character, or with the marks of accents ?

Are we to say, that this character was lost just after the time of Titus, and reappeared in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when we see it in manuscripts of that age ? This is improbable.

The initial sigma (σ) in σοφὸν is made out of the capital form of that letter, and is first found in the MSS. of the tenth century ; for in earlier manuscripts written in the running character, it is seen in the capital form ; as in the manuscripts of Stobæus written at the end of the ninth century.

The final sigma (ς) in the words ὦς, τὰς, πολλὰς, χεῖρας, is formed out of the final sigma used in the manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and is seen in manuscripts of the fourteenth century.

The letter ν in ἐν, and νικᾷ is first seen in manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The form of the  $\mu$  in *βουλευμα* is of the same date.

The  $\pi$  of this shape ( $\varpi$ ) is never seen in the beginning of a word, as *πολλας*, except in manuscripts after the 12th century.

The same objection may be made to the form of the aspirate over  $\acute{\omega}$ s and  $\acute{\epsilon}$ v, and the circumflex over *χεῖρας* and *νικᾶ*. The round and angular forms of the aspirate are promiscuously used by the scribes; see a specimen in a manuscript in Montfaucon, p. 234; but there the round form is added by a later hand.

Let us now consider two circumstances which demand our attention in these manuscripts; first, the absence of all abbreviations, and secondly, the numerals. From a summary review of the most ancient inscriptions of which we have the dates ascertained, we may observe in what cases, in engraving Greek characters, the ancients were accustomed to use abbreviations. In this, however, they do not appear to have been guided by any fixed rules. We find them indiscriminately in the names of persons, of offices, of numbers.

The medal of Amyntas, the most ancient money known to us, of certain date, who began his reign in the first year of the sixty-third Olympiad, gives us B for *βασιλεως*, and M for *Μακεδωνων*. Xenophon (Græc. iv.) informs us, that in the ninety-sixth Olympiad the Sicyonians had on their shields the initial Σ. We know that the Argives in the same manner used the Α.

The Sigean inscription, Olymp. 50, among others, has these contractions, ΚΑΓΟ, for *και εγω*, ΚΑΠΙΣΤΑΤΟΝ, for *και επιστατον*, ΜΕΠΟΕΙΣΕΝ, for *με εποισεν*.

The Delian inscription is of the same age as that just mentioned, or perhaps more ancient. It is a senarian iambic, and contains the common apocope of the *i* in *ειμι* before *ανδριας*.

The marble found at Athens of the date of the third year of Olymp. 80, has some abbreviations; among these are ΤΡΙΕ for *τριεραρχον*, and ΦΥΛ for *φυλαρχον*.

In the Sandwich marble, Olymp. 101, we find Τ for *ταλαντον*.

The letters Ε.Θ have been explained differently by Corsini and Taylor.

In the Sigean decree, third year of Olymp. 123, is the contraction KATHN for *κατατην*.

In the Milesian marble, Olymp. 133, we read βω for *βαμους*.

In the Teian and Cretan monuments relating to the 147th Olymp. is found ΔΙ, which Chishull interprets *δεκατη*.

Of this age is the Laconic or Cretan marble, illustrated by Maffei; in that we have the sigla Κα for *κατα*, as in many other marbles, and *καιπρακτος* for *και απρακτος*.

In the Heracleian tables we find the episema ΑΙ. ΜΕ. ΠΕ. ΚΝ. These have been elucidated by Mazzochi and Maffei.

The inscription in Gruter and Gualter, relating to the boundary of fields, contains Α for *απο*, Ε for ΕΣ, ΤΕ for ΤΕΡΜΩΝ; its age is not known, but it is prior to the Christian æra.

The brazen tablet of the second year of Olymp. 175, in the Consulship of Q. Lutatius Catulus, and M. Æmilius Lepidus, V. C. 676, has ΚΛΑΖ for *Κλαζομενιων*.

The inscriptions that are of the time of the Romans contain frequent abbreviations; these are easily consulted; and to them we refer our reader.

The custom then of using contractions, even in the most ancient monuments known to us, seems to have been very prevalent. They were doubtless frequently used in others which are lost to us. These abbreviations were familiar to the eyes and minds of those who wrote the manuscripts, but they have studiously avoided to make any use of them. In this respect, there was a great difference in the form of writing, and that used by the quadratarii.

The forms of the letters in the manuscripts are very different; the sigma and epsilon are uniformly rounded: on marbles and medals they are frequently in the square form; Ε Ε Σ. The reason of this is obvious; the ductus calami in writing the manuscripts would be

easier, and therefore preferred; to those who engraved on tablets and marbles, the square form would be of easier execution. The round form of the sigma was used frequently in the time of Titus. That, as well as the round E, is however of very remote antiquity. They are both found on ancient Etruscan monuments. The E was wrongly supposed by Spanheim to be not older than the age of Antonine. Torremozza found it in ΑΕΚΑΑΩ, the name of a city in Palestine, founded first in honour of Augustus. Paciaud says it was used long before the time of that Emperor, *non in numis modo, sed etiam in marmoribus.*

The numerals used in the manuscripts shew that the manner of counting is that adopted when the alphabet was divided into three parts: the first eight letters expressing unity, including the *episemon* *bau* for the number six; the next eight letters expressing tens, with the *koppa* for 90; the last eight expressing hundreds, with the *sanpi* for nine hundred. Different opinions have been entertained respecting the time, when these three episema were introduced as arithmetical marks. That of Corsini appears to be well founded; we shall mention it presently, having first made some remarks on the more ancient numerals.

The ancient Attic or Pelasgic alphabet, before the arrival of Cadmus, consisted of sixteen letters. The same alphabet was used by the ancient Latins. The Cadmean was not adopted by them; for then they would have used the three episema which are of Phœnician origin, and were brought by Cadmus; but they never had these marks; they adhered faithfully to the Attic form. The arguments on this subject may be seen in the dissertation of Boulhierius. What the ancient Latin numerals were we are told by Priscian; they approached very nearly to the ancient Attic, of which Scaurus has given us this information: *Quoties Attici unum notant, literam ponunt, quoniam apud illos μᾶ, ια dicitur; et ut πεντε Π, δεκα Δ, sic et εκατον, id est, centum, Η litera notant.* The most ancient specimen of this

numerical notation, with which we are acquainted, is the Sandwich marble of the 101st Olymp. The Oxford marbles present us with the same numeral characters. To the sixteen characters of the ancient alphabet, Cadmus added three, Z, Θ, Ξ, and the three characters called episema, Bau, Sanpi, and Koppa. These were not used immediately as arithmetical marks, but were letters.

From the collation of two passages in Aristophanes, Eccles. v. 680, and Plutus, v. 973, Corsini supposes, contrary to the opinion of Scaliger, that in the 97th Olympiad, when the play of the Concionatrices was performed, K expressed the number 10, and that therefore the episemon bau was not then used, but Z instead of it. On this we may remark, that, as we find in the Sandwich marble of the 101st Olympiad, the notation alluded to above, there is no reason for supposing that it may not have been used in a period just preceding, in the 97th Olympiad. On this subject great light has been thrown by the labours of Mazzochi, in his dissertations on the Heracleian tables. It appears that in the more ancient money of Crotona, the Koppa was used to express the sound of a letter; and in the Heracleian tables we find that Bau was not an episemon, but also, as the Koppa, had the sound of a letter.

The name of this letter was VAV, in Greek βαυ; afterwards, when it ceased to be used in brass or marble, it received the name of the Æolic digamma. Its first form was E: the perpendicular line was produced, and it became F, and lastly ς, when it was only numeral. Its power was either a strong aspirate, or as V consonant, as in ΕΕΤΟΣ, *I'etus*, in the Heracleian tables. Its place was the same in the Greek, as in the Hebrew, Phœnician, and Tuscan alphabets, namely, the sixth. It appears on money in the times of Claudius, Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian; on a marble also of the Christian æra, year 75, quoted by Spon, under the form ς.

The Koppa is used often on money, and under various forms; on marbles, in two instances only. Its form is well described by

Hesychius, in V. κοππατίας. ο εστιν απεστραμμενον Ρ και Σ. So the passage should be read according to Mazzochi, as it stands; and not altered in the manner which Scaliger, Salmasius, and others have proposed. The Sanpi has been observed neither on money nor marbles.

## S U P P L E M E N T.

Norwich, June 3, 1809.

FEW English books were to be obtained in the country where the above dissertation was written; and it is only since it has been sent to the press, that I have seen Foster's Essay on Accent and Quantity, and Bishop Horsley's Treatise on the Prosodies of the Greek and Latin Languages, lent to me by my friend Dr. Sayers of this place.

In the passage of Alexander Aphrodisiensis, which I have corrected, I should probably have adopted the emendation of Foster, if I had seen it; τότε δητα και ο παραλογισμος απεβη.

Aristophanes of Byzantium is generally said to have introduced accentual marks, and this is given on the authority of Salmasius, Huetius, and Montfaucon; yet Foster candidly declares, *that they say not whence they learnt this*. The passage which I have quoted concerning the accentuation of αυταρ by Callimachus (who lived before Aristophanes just mentioned) shews, I think, that there must have been an accented copy of Homer marked by Callimachus.

Concerning the antiquity of accents, and the position, that the marks were the invention of an earlier age than is generally imagined, I shall leave to those who require a proof on this head, the quiet perusal of Bishop Horsley's treatise; a work of great merit, notwithstanding the objections, specious or solid, which may be advanced against it. Every thing which came from the pen of that learned prelate indicate him to have been ου τυχοντα ανδρα. In the field of controversy he stands unrivalled; his letters to Priestley,



τον του της απιστίας σπασαντα βορβορου, constitute a model in that department of literature. Posterity will pronounce the same opinion with the present age; την νικωσαν εθεντο ψηφον υπερειδη.—Phot. Bib. p. 807.

I shall here subjoin an extract from the Bishop's work: *It is difficult not to draw the conclusion from the passages that have been produced from the writings of Plato and Aristotle, putting together what is said by both of them, that accentuation, as it stood in their time, was reduced to a very regular system, and to the strictest rules. And it is no less difficult to conceive that this could be done, without written characters of tone, than that grammar could be carried to any good degree of perfection without an alphabet.*

## DISSERTATION IX.

*On the Manuscript of Herculaneum entitled Περὶ τῶν Θεῶν.*

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BY THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM DRUMMOND.

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THE treatise of Cicero *de Natura Deorum* is one of the most finished and agreeable of his philosophical compositions. He there states and refutes the doctrines of the Stoics and Epicureans concerning the divine nature, with so much learning, argument, and eloquence, that the work might easily be supposed to have been written by a man who had passed the whole of his life in the study of philosophy. It seems, indeed, difficult to understand how the most brilliant orator, the busiest pleader, and one of the most active politicians in Rome, who conversed and corresponded with so many friends, who struggled against so many enemies, and who was either courted or persecuted by so many factions, should have found leisure to make himself so accurately acquainted with the most abstruse subjects in metaphysics, and with the most subtle questions which were agitated in the schools of Greece. Cicero, it is true, had studied for a short period at Athens, and was accustomed to listen to Diodotus, Philo, Antiochus, and Posidonius, who were admitted among the number of his *familiares*; but when we consider the extent and precision of his knowledge, and especially the clearness, justness, and beauty of his definitions, we shall probably admire how all this

learning was acquired in his casual conversations with a few philosophical friends.

These difficulties may be in great measure removed by supposing that the Roman orator translated, or compiled, his books from Greek originals, all of which were eclipsed by the lustre of his eloquence, and which have since been lost and forgotten. The manuscript, which is the subject of our consideration, and which forms only the fragment of a large work, may be adduced in support of this opinion. The commencement of it seems to have been the prototype of a considerable part of the speech of Velleius; for it would be idle to suppose that the Greek author was the plagiarist. Who would venture to offer for his own what had been already said by Tully?

The fragment before us, then, contains the sentiments of an Epicurean, concerning the system of theism professed by the Stoics. From the first part of it, Cicero has taken the 14th, 15th, and 16th chapters of his first book *de Natura Deorum*; but towards the conclusion of the manuscript, I find the charge of atheism urged against the Stoics with a vehemence which has been avoided by the Roman orator. A disciple of the new academy cannot be supposed to be very desirous of giving too much weight to an accusation which many may be apt to bring against himself; for mankind in general will never be satisfied with the faith of a philosopher, who refuses to affirm, or to deny, and who always speaks of what is probable, and never of what is certain. On the other hand, the Stoics and the Epicureans, who made lofty pretensions to popular applause, as the philosophical expounders of the popular religion, loudly accused each other of that atheism, of which both affected to be abhorrent, and of which both were indubitably culpable. The atheism of the Epicureans seems not to have been questioned by any men of learning, though their exoteric doctrines were so well disguised as not to offend the vulgar. The Romans, who heard with indignation of the profanation of an idle mystery by Clodius, received with admiration

the splendid blasphemies of Lucretius. Since the establishment of Christianity, the atomical physiology, with all its absurd concomitants, has been fully unveiled. Gassendus, indeed, endeavoured to revive the physics of Epicurus, but he shrunk from the task of defending his religious principles, which have been so severely stigmatized by the eloquent Lactantius. More indulgence has been shewn to the Stoics. Lipsius and Gataker have appeared as their advocates; Cudworth affirms, that though they were corporealists, they were not atheists; and Burgman defends them against that charge of hyloism, which has become the sin of Spinoza. It is easy, however, to see that all these illustrious men have been deceived by the specious professions of the philosophers of the Porch, who, while they admitted the efficacy of Providence (*προνοια*), and the reason which belonged to their igneous god, yet held that Providence to proceed from fate, that reason to result from physical organization, and that god to be no pure intelligence, no free agent, and no independent being. The god of the Stoics was of corporeal substance, inseparable from matter, the immediate cause indeed of reason and of life, yet derived from physical necessity, to which both god and nature are eternally subordinate.

It is my intention in this dissertation to offer a few comments on the fragment before us. The reader, I trust, will have no difficulty in finding the places referred to in the copy already filled up by the academicians of Portici.

Page 1, line 12.—*Ἀλλὰ οἶδαι Χρυσιππος τὸ παν ἐπιδιακρινῶν, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ θεῶν, διαξέχουσαν τὴν φρενὰ παντῶν, καὶ πάντα λόγον, καὶ τὴν τε οὖν ψυχὴν, καὶ τὴν τε μὲν ψυχὴν πάντα πάντα γινέσθαι θεόν, καὶ τὰς λίθους.*] Compare this sentence with the following extracts: *Ait enim (Chrysippus) vim divinam in ratione esse positam, et universæ naturæ animo, atque mente; ipsumque mundum, deum dicit esse, et ejus animi fusionem universam, &c. (Cicero de Nat. Deor.) Οὐσίαν δὲ θεὸς Ζηνων φησὶ τὸν οὖν κόσμον, καὶ τὸν ὕμνον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Χρυσιππος ἐν τῷ 1ῳ περὶ θεῶν. (Diog. Laert. in Zenone.) Οἱ Στωικοὶ κοινόφρον θεὸν ἀποφαινοῦσι πυρ τεχνικόν, οὐδ'*

βαδίζον, ἐπὶ γενέσκει κοσμοῦ ἐμπεριελήφοις πανύας τὰς σπερμάτικας λογὰς, καὶ εἰς ἑκάστα καὶ εἰμαρμένην γινέσκει. καὶ πνεῦμα μὲν διήκον δι' ὅλης τῆς κοσμοῦ, τὰς δὲ προσηγορίας μετὰ λαμβάνον δι' ὅλης τῆς ὑλῆς, δι' ἧς κεχωρηκεῖ παραλλάξει. Θεοὺ δὲ καὶ τὸν κοσμον, καὶ τὰς ἀσερὰς, καὶ τὴν γῆν, τὸν δ' ἀνωτάτω πάντων νεν, ἐν αἰθέρι. (*Plutarch de placit. Philosophor.*) The Stoics admitted two principles, the active and the passive, God and matter: *Δοκεῖ δὲ αὐτοῖς*, says Laetius, *ἀρχὰς εἶναι τῶν ὅλων δύο, τὸ ποιεῖν, καὶ τὸ πασχεῖν. τὸ μὲν ἐν πασχεῖν εἶναι, τὴν ἀποιοῦν ἔστιν, τὴν ὑλὴν, τοῦδε ποιεῖν, τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ λόγον τὸν Θεόν.* But this doctrine contains the very essence of Spinosism; for, according to the Stoics, *neque enim materiam ipsam coherere potuisse, si nulla vi contineretur, neque vim sine aliqua materia.* Again, they sometimes considered God only as a part of nature. *Ita isti*, says Lactantius, *uno nature nomine res diversissimas comprehenderunt Deum et mundum, artificem et opus.* At other times they confounded God with nature, as may be seen in the writings of Seneca, and especially in *Quæst. Natur.* l. ii. c. 7 and 9.

Page 1, line 24.—*Διο καὶ Ζηνα, &c.*] By Jupiter the Stoics understood that *vis physica*, which in fact was their god, and which was known by different names, according to the *phenomena*. Thus the great agent in nature, materially considered, is the æther, which is also called Jupiter;—when the mechanical power, which produces change in the universe, is the object of attention, the *vis æterna et physica* still receives the name of Jupiter;—but Jupiter also represents the reasonable nature, which is the same with fatal necessity. *Chrysippus disputat, æthera esse eum, quem homines Jovem appellarent; quique aer per maria manaret, eum esse Neptunum: terramque eam esse quæ Ceres diceretur: similique ratione persequitur vocabula reliquorum Deorum. Idemque etiam legis perpetuæ, et æternæ vim, quæ quasi dux vitæ, et magistra officiorum sit, Jovem dicit esse, eandemque fatalem necessitatem appellat, sempiternam rerum futurarum veritatem: quorum nihil tale est, ut in eo vis divina inesse videatur.* (*Cicer. de Natur. Deor.* l. i.) *Εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν, δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων, καὶ ὡς περ πάρεστι πάντων.*

κοινως τε, και το μερος αυτε το διηκον δια παντων, ο πολλαις προσηγοριας προσονομαζιται καια τας δυναμεις. Δια μεν γαρ φασι, δι' ον τα παντα. Ζηνα δε καλεσι, παρ' οσον τε ζην αιλιος εστιν, η δια τε ζην κεχωρηκεν, &c.—Laert. Diog. l. vii.

Page 1. line 30.—Και εγω αναλγον ευναζεσθαι τον Δια, &c.] We find from Stobæus, that Zeno considered matter as the primæval essence (ουσιαν ειναι τον των ολων παντων πρωτην υλην); an eternal whole, incapable of augmentation, or of diminution (ταυτην δε πασαν αιδιον, εφε πλειω γιγνομενην, εφε ηλαττω). Seneca makes it a question, whether God can perform what he wishes, and whether even what is bad may not proceed from the great artificer, *non quia cessat ars, sed quia id in quo exercetur inobsequens arti est*. But the real doctrine of the Stoics is better expressed in the text; for Jupiter, who here represents physical necessity, cannot possibly be disturbed. Chrysippus, in his definitions, says, Ειμαρμενη εστιν ο τε κοσμος λογος, η νομος των ολων εν τω κοσμω, προνοια διακεμενων. η λογος καθ' ον τα μεν γεγονοτα, γεγονε, τα δε γινομενα, γινεσθαι, τα δε γενησομενα γενησεσθαι. The rest of the Stoics defined necessity to be the eternal series, order, and concatenation of causes. It does not occur to me, that I have seen this quiescent state attributed elsewhere to Jupiter by the Stoics; but the doctrine necessarily results from their philosophy.

Page 2. line 8.—Και μη ειναι θεους αρρενας μηδε θηλειας, &c.]—The Epicureans accused the Stoics of rejecting the theogony of Hesiod. In affecting to admit it themselves, they shewed more art than good faith, or sound philosophy. The whole of this passage (from p. 2. l. 8, to the bottom of the same page) is a fair exposition of the doctrine of the Stoics, who only termed those things sexual which really are so, and who held it to be puerile to be so misled by any metaphorical language, as to mistake cities, rivers, places, or affections of the mind, for gods. The gods, or rather the names of the gods, were expressive of peculiar states of being, of nature under various aspects, of existence, moral and physical, of substance and its accidents, of matter and its powers.

Page 2, l. 15.—Καθαπερ σελήνην, &c.] Compare this with what is said by Laertius, l. vii. ; and see also how splendidly this doctrine is illustrated by Cicero, *de Natur. Deor.* l. ii.

Page 2, line 21.—Καὶ κρονον αἰωνιον τε ρευμαῖος ροον.] This is expressed with the *ore rotundo* of the Greeks ; but I doubt whether αἰωνιον be well supplied.

Page 2, line 24.—Δια δὲ τον αἰθερα, &c.] It is easy to understand here, that the Stoics, in contemplating universal nature, considered the Pagan gods as types of various *phenomena*. Vulcan represented fire, Rhea the earth, Jupiter the æther, &c. But, according to these same Stoics, Jupiter was the same with fate, god, and mind, and yet he was the air which surrounds the earth, which air, the Stoics said, was represented by Juno. ΕΝ ΤΕ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΘΕΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΝΕΝ, ΚΑΙ ΕΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗΝ, ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ, &c. (*Laert. Diog.* l. vii.) ΗΡΑΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΛΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΕΡΑ. (*Laert. ibid.*) ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΜΕΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ ΑΕΡΑ. (MS. p. 3. l. i.) All this seems contradictory. The explanation, however, is simple enough, because the Stoics, who affected to contemplate God in all things, were indifferent to the name by which they recognised him. *Vis Deum fatum vocare ? non errabis*, says Seneca, *hic est ex quo suspensa sunt omnia, causa causarum. Vis illum providentiam ? recte dices. Est enim hujus consilio huic mundo providatur ut inconcussus est, et actus suos explicet. Vis naturam vocare ? non peccabis. Est enim ex quo nata sunt omnia, cujus spiritu vivimus. Vis mundum ? Ipse est enim totum quod vides, totus suis partibus inditus, et se sustinens vi sua.* Θεον και κοσμον, και αερας, και την γην λεγεσι. τον δε ανωτάτω παύλων, νεν εν αιθερι.—(*Plutarch. de placit. Philosophor.*) We must beware, however, of being misled by any of these expressions into an admission, that the Stoics were real theists. Even Spinoza says, *cogitatio attributum Dei est*. They who deny free agency to the Deity, and who do not consider the supreme intellect as independent of all other existence, are little further removed from atheism than Hylus, who has pleaded the cause of materialism in my Academical Questions.

Page 3, line 9. Και τον ηλιον μεν, και την σεληνην, και τες αλλες ασερας θεως οϊειαι, και τον νομον.] The Stoics held that the sun was formed of a fiery matter endowed with intellect, and proceeding from the sea (Οι Στωικοι αναμμα νοερον εκ θαλάσσης, &c.), and Posidonius more explicitly and remarkably said, that the sun was an intelligent flame proceeding out of the great sea : Τον μεν ηλιον, εκ της μεγαλης θαλάσσης νοερον οΐα αναμμα. Porphyry, *de Antro Nympharum*, writes, τοις δ' απο της Σίρας, ηλιον μεν τρεφεσθαι εκ της απο της θαλασσης αναμυθιασεως εδοκει. σεληνην δε των πηγαιων και ποταμιων υδατων' ταδ' ασερα, απο της εκ γης αναθυμιασεως. και δια τεξε αμμα μεν νοερον ειναι τον ηλιον εκ θαλασσης· την δε σεληνην, εκ ποταμιων υδατων' τες δ' ασερας, εξ αναθυμιασεως της απο της γης. Pliny says, *sed in dulcibus aquis lunæ alimentum esse, sicut in marinis solis*. Macrobius observes, *Ides enim sicut et Posidonius et Cleanthes affirmant solis meatus à plaga quæ usta dicitur non recedit, quia sub ipsa currit oceanus, qui terram ambit et dividit. Omnium autem physicorum assertionem constat calorem humore nutriri*. This is then the old doctrine of water being the principle of all things, strangely confounded by the Stoics with their own system. Their notions concerning the planets may be understood from Cicero *de Natur. Deor.* l. ii. They in general supposed the stars to be spherical like the world, the sun, and the moon; but Cleanthes fancied them of a conical form : Οι Στωικοι σφαιρικας τες ασερας, καθαπερ κοσμον, και ηλιον, και ισεληνην, Κλεανθης κωνοειδεις. *Plutarch de placit. Philosophor.* They thought, however, that the earth was immovable : και την γην ακινητον εσαν. *Laert.* It was their common opinion that the stars were formed of fire, or æther. Posidonius, according to Stobæus, defined a star ; σωμα θειον, εξ αιθερος συνεσηκος, a divine body constituted out of æther. Cleanthes held the stars to be wholly of fire : *Sidera esse tota ignea, duorum sensuum testimonio confirmari Cleanthes putat, tactus et oculorum. Cic.* Others thought them solid and terrene ; which opinion, Lipsius observes, was derived from Thales. See the surmises of Seneca, *Quæst.* 7. c. 1. and 11, c. 5., and of Pliny, l. ii. c. 9. The Stoics held



the stars to be sentient and intelligent. The definition given by Zeno of the sun, moon, and stars, was as follows: Τὸν ἡλίον καὶ τὴν σελήνην, καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀστέρων ἑκάστην, εἶναι νοερόν, φρονιμόν, πυριμόν πυρ, ὡς τεχνικόν; *the sun and moon, and each of the other stars, are an intelligent, prudent, fiery fire, as being technical.* This is at least whimsical. Concerning the moon, their physics were as erroneous as their metaphysics. They said that she is larger than the earth, which proves that they could not take her paralax, though the method of finding the moon's paralax must have been known to the Egyptians, and probably to some of the Greeks. According to Diogenes Laertius, Thales had calculated that the orb of the moon is seven hundred and twenty times less than that of the sun, and this proves that Thales and his Egyptian masters must have made efforts to take the paralaxes of both these luminaries. It may be suspected, however, that Diogenes was not rightly informed upon this point. The Egyptians calculated the diameter of the sun to be the seven hundred and fiftieth part of his orbit; and this calculation comes so nearly to the truth, as to make it difficult to conceive, how such accurate astronomers should have erred by at least one half in estimating the relative sizes of the sun and moon. Upon this subject, however, the error of Eudoxus seems altogether extraordinary, and shows with many other things, that the Greeks were children in science, when compared with the Chaldeans and Egyptians. Eudoxus—the most learned of the Greek mathematicians of his time, the friend and disciple of that divine Plato, who was the admirer of geometry, and who, if I do not forget, has somewhere called God *the great Geometer*—asserted that the sun's diameter was only nine times greater than that of the moon. Thus already in the time of Plato was the astronomical knowledge, which Thales and Pythagoras had brought into Europe, neglected, and perhaps contemned by the philosophers of Greece. In the school of Alexandria, it is true, the Greeks began again to study astronomy upon surer principles.

About one hundred and fifty years after the death of Zeno, the celebrated Hipparchus proposed a method for finding the paralax of the sun. This method is certainly ingenious; and Hipparchus probably owed it to the Egyptians; but the light of Egyptian science was nearly extinguished, and the philosophers of Alexandria saw only by the dying gleamings of the lamp, when the last drop of oil was exhausting, and the wick was burning out.

The Stoics attributed lunar eclipses to the intervention of the earth between the sun and the moon. I doubt, however, whether they could calculate eclipses. Aristotle says, that there had been only three Greek philosophers before his time who possessed this science; and I suspect that the Stoics were incompetent to the task of reviving it. When we state all that may be said in their favour, we shall be enabled to judge more accurately. We have seen above, that Cleanthes said that the heavenly bodies were of a conical form; but this error is evidently to be attributed to those who have told the story; for Cleanthes must have meant to speak of their shadows, and this is strictly true. Again, we learn from Laertius, that they were aware of the obliquity of the moon's course. They knew that her orbit was not coincident with the plane of the ecliptic, that no eclipse could happen when she was not in or near her nodes, and that there could be no lunar eclipse when she was not in opposition. They, however, who foretel eclipses with precision must know something more. It does not appear, either from Stobæus or Laertius, that the Stoics knew by how many degrees the moon's orbit was ever at any time, either depressed below, or raised above the plane of the ecliptic; within what number of degrees may be the sun's and moon's places from the nodes at the time of an eclipse; nor, finally, what is the motion of the moon's nodes.

Page 3. line 16. Εν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ, &c.]—*Et hæc quidem in primo libro de natura Deorum; in secundo autem vult Orphei, Musæi, Hesiodi, Homerique fabellas accommodare ad ea, quæ ipse primo libro de diis*

*immortalibus dixerit; ut etiam veterrimi poëtae, qui hæc ne quidem suspicati sint, Stoici fuisse videantur.*—(Cicero de Natura Deorum).

Page 3. line 26. Ἀπαν γὰρ ἐστὶν αἰθήρ, &c.]—The Stoics held that the elements were generated out of that æther, of which were constituted the sun, the moon, the stars, and the gods. Of the three regions of air, which they supposed to environ the world, the external was fiery, or ætherial; and the mixtion of elements, and the forms of things, had no other source than this primary æther. All bodies, then, which are formed of elements, are subject to generation and corruption. The æther alone is ingenerate and incorruptible. But as all corporeal things have their origin in the æther, as it both exists in them, and contains them; and finally, as the whole universe must resolve itself at length into Jupiter, who is the æther, and who is at once the cause and the effect, Cleanthes might consistently say of this same æther, that it was the father and the son. But it is evident, that this æther of the Stoics was very similar to that which Empedocles likewise called Jupiter, and to that primordial fire which was the god of Heraclitus. Æther, or fire, however, must still be material, and as the universe was considered as a whole, or as parts of it only were contemplated, Rhea might be called the mother, or the daughter of Jupiter. For the material principle, the original matter, or πρώτη ὑλη, is eternal and primordial, and Rhea, considered as such, is in fact the mother of Jupiter, and the principle of that reasoning and artificial fire, or æther, which the Stoics called the Deity. When, however, Rhea was finitely contemplated, as in any particular body, (in the earth, for example, of which she was mythologically the representative,) she was called the daughter of Jupiter, because every individual thing receives its form and actual existence by the operation of the το τεχνικὸν πῦρ, which is the same with the æther.

Page 4. line 12. Τὰ παραπλησία, &c.]—I confess it does not appear to me to be quite clear, whether the author is speaking here of Cleanthes, or of Chrysippus, though I rather think of the latter.

The list which Fabricius has given of the writings of the former is as full, as that which he has given of the books of the latter is imperfect. In the list of the writings of Cleanthes no mention is made by any author, as far as I know, of a work entitled *περι φυσικῶς*, whereas the works of Chrysippus concerning physics, physical theses, and physical questions, have been cited and mentioned by Laertius and Plutarch. Again, Cleanthes, of whom our anonymous author had been speaking above, wrote a book *περι ἀρετῶν*; but Chrysippus wrote *de providentia*. See Fabricius, vol. ii. and Stanley's *Lives of the Philosophers*. There can be no doubt that the philosophy of the Stoics resembled that of Heraclitus, for Cleanthes, as Gassendus has marked, wrote four books *τῶν Ἡρακλεΐδ᾽ ἐξηγησεων*; but I have nowhere seen the resemblance so strongly stated as in the manuscript before us. With respect to Heraclitus, little is known concerning his obscure philosophy, unless it be that he held fire to be the great efficient principle in the universe. He wrote only one book *περι φυσικῶς*. He appears to have been well instructed in physics; but his arrogance is strongly characterised by Proclus; ἀλλ' Ἡρακλεΐδης μὲν εαυτὸν παντὶ εἶδεναι λέγων, παντὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀνεπίσημονας ποιεῖ. Aristotle and Demetrius Phalerius have both censured the obscurity of his style. *Aristot. Rhetor.* l. 3. c. 5. *Demetr. de Elocut.* c. 196. See Fabricius, vol. 1. *Plutarch de Placitis Philosophorum*, and *Laert. Diogen. in vita Heracliti*.

Page 5. line 9. Καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀνομαζία, &c.]—For *τῆς δρεϊμυλῆος ἀπολαυων ἀκωπιαζως*, which I find in the text, I would read, *τῆς δρεϊμυλῆος ἀπολαυων ἀκωπιασως*.

Page 5. line 14. Διογενὲς δ' ὁ βαβυλωνίος, &c.]—*Quem Diogenes Babylonius consequens in eo libro, qui inscribitur de Minerva, partum Jovis, ortumque virginis ad physiologiam traducens, dejungit à fabula. Cicero de Natur. Deor.* This Diogenes was also a Stoic. He accompanied Carneades and Critolaus to Rome, where he died.

Page 5. line 16. Τὸν κόσμον γράφει τῷ Δι, &c.]—Compare this

with the opinions generally attributed to the Stoics by Diogenes Laertius, (Δια γὰρ μὲν φασι, &c. l. vii.) and by Cicero *de Natur. Deor.* l. ii.

Page 5. line 22. Καὶ τὸν ἥλιον μὲν Ἀπολλῶν, &c.]—Sallust the philosopher, speaking of the notion of the Stoics concerning the nature of the gods, says, Ἀπολλῶνα γὰρ καὶ Ἀρίεμιν ἀνὴρ ἥλιος καὶ σεληνῆς ληπτέον. Jam *Apollinis* n. n. en, says Cicero, *est Græcum; quem solem esse volunt; Dianam autem et lunam eandem esse putant.*

Page 5. line 24. Καὶ τὸν Δία μὴ δύσκειν θεοὺς ἀλλοθρίους οὐδ' εἰσληψέιν.]—When Jupiter was considered as the ætherial and intelligent principle by the Stoics, they held that he could not be confounded with the other gods; for though the æther pervades all things, it is distinct from all. Damascenus therefore rightly expressed the sentiments of the Stoics, when he said that God pervades all things, but without mixtion. Αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς διὰ πάντων ἀμιγῶς διηκει, &c.

Page 5. line 27. Καὶ ἀδυνατῶν εἶναι, &c.]—It is impossible, according to Diogenes, that such portions of Jupiter, that is to say of æther, as are distributed in the other elements, the sea, the earth, and the air, should be called Neptune, Ceres, or Juno, in the same manner as Pluto. The meaning seems to be, that he thought the intelligent fiery element to be always distinct from the others: and that the matter, which could think, was never to be confounded with that which could not.

Page 5. line 31. Ποσειδῶνα.]—The Stoics derived this word from ποσις. Plato (*in Cratylō*) gives an etymology almost as absurd. We know from Herodotus (*in Euterpe*) that Ποσειδῶν was an African god; and consequently we may suppose his name to have been originally Punic. Bochart derives it from פֶּסֶט, *pesitan; quod latum et expansum sonat.* I think this cannot be accurate. The word should rather have been written פֶּסֶט, if indeed there can be such a word. The truth is, that *Pæst*, or *Pæston*, was the African name of Ποσειδῶν; because the Greeks changed the Phœnician name of the city of *Pæst* into *Posidonium*, and the Latins revived the ancient name, and again

called it *Pæstum*. I derive Ποσειδων from פִּי־שֶׁדֶן, *pos-adon*, *dominus abundantiae*. The river *Pishon*, or *Pison*, was so called from the abundance of its waters; for Pliny states that its copious stream is supplied by nineteen rivers which fall into it. The authors of the Talmud, if I do not err, have called this river the פִּי־שֶׁ Pos; and they fable it to be one of those which watered the garden of Eden. Scalliger calls it πλυμμυραν, from the lakes, and marshes, which it produces in its course. We see, then, that this word *pos*, is peculiarly applied to the abundance of waters; and it would thus seem that the title of *the Lord of many waters* is implied in the compound word *pos-adon*.—I am of opinion, however, that the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, more commonly called Neptune by the name of *Pæston*, or *Piston*, from פִּי־שֶׁ *spargere*, *diffundere*, and שֶׁ־שֶׁ *sol*—that is, the solar orb was thus adored as the god who spreads and diffuses the waters. The *Sol marinus* was worshipped by the Syrians, Phœnicians, and Chaldeans. (*See the Pantheon Hebræorum, and Selden de Dis Syris*).

Page 5. line 33. Δημήτρεα. ]—Plato's etymology of this word is as unhappy as the rest. Sextus Empiricus says better, η γαρ Δημήτηρ, φασιν, εν αλλο τι ειν, η γη μήτηρ.

Page 6. line 1. Πλε[υ]α. ]—The Greek names of the gods are generally corruptions from the Phœnician and Egyptian. Most of those gods were symbols of the sun. In my explanation of a Punic inscription found at Malta, I have shown, that *On* (written 𐤓) *An* in Arabic and Persian) signified the sun. Now though it may be objected to me, that *ων* is a common termination of many Greek names, where there could be no such allusion; yet I think, that in the names of the gods, *ων* was generally significative of the solar orb. *Pos adon*, as I have said above, may be rendered *the Lord of many waters*; but *adon*, which came at length to signify *Lord*, is a compound word composed of *had*, or *ad*, *unus*, and *on*, *sol*. The learned Bryant is right in thinking that *ad*, which signifies *unus*, was often employed for *primus*; but it is very strange that he should not

have discovered the origin of this word. *Ahad* signifies *unus*, and is often written *had*, which may easily have been softened into *ad*; and we shall also find abundance of examples where it is used as the ordinal number.—(See Gen. i. 5. and Dan. i. 21.). It also signifies the *sole*, or *single*.—(See Gen. xix. 9.) With these preliminary remarks we shall easily translate any of the words in which it comes in composition. *Adon* is *sol unus*, or *sol solus*. *Ador* is *lux unus*, or *lux primus*. *Adad*, or *Hadad* is *primus* twice repeated: for as Bryant justly observes, the Amœnians generally formed their superlative by repeating the positive; and *Adad* consequently means *princeps principum*, or *princeps maximus*.

I shall have to contend in another place with the Hebrew critics, who have objected to the radical *On*, and signifying the sun, being introduced into proper names. My task is more difficult here in pretending that it may be found in the Greek. I shall therefore only suggest a very few instances in which I think I shall be found to be right.

Vossius brings *Απολλων* from *Αεηλιος*, and Bryant from *Ab-El-Elion* *pater, deus, sol*. The ancient Romans, as Vossius states, called Apollo, *Apello*; and it seems not unlikely that the mutable letters *ε* and *π*, may have been changed for each other. If I were to adopt this supposition, however, I should choose a simpler etymology than Bryant has done, and read *Ab-Elion* אֲבִי-עֶלִיִּן *pater summus*; or if we resolve *elion* into its radicals, I should read *pater, summus sol*. But I would rather derive *Απολλων* from אֲבִי-עֶלִיִּן—that is, *sol caliginis*, or *sol obscuratus*. Apollo was peculiarly the emblem of the sun, when that luminary comes shrouded in clouds, and when famine and pestilence go forth upon the earth. We may observe, that when Homer describes Apollo as proceeding to inflict the plague upon the Greeks, he says, ο δ' ἦγε νυκτὶ εοικώς. Now Homer was born in Asia Minor, and he might have been acquainted with the Phœnician language; and אֲבִי-עֶלִיִּן may have suggested an image, which cannot be

sufficiently admired, but which seems to me to be yet more beautiful if Apollo originally signified *the shrouded sun*.

*Hyperion* was a solar symbol, or more truly one of the names given to the sun. It has been idly referred to the Greek, and supposed to be compounded of *υπερ* *above* and *ιων* *going*; and thus indicating the sun in his diurnal course. I conceive it to be synonymous with *יָרֵחַ*. *Ion*, as I have shown elsewhere, was one of the appellations of the sun.

*Phaeton*, or *Phaethon*, a much mistaken personage, says Bryant, was an ancient title of the sun, a compound of Phi-Ath-On. *Pi*, or *Phi*, observes this author, was the Egyptian and Cuthite article; and was in use among several nations of the East. I am surprised that Bryant did not refer his readers to Kircher, who gives the fullest evidence upon this subject. With respect to the word *ath*, or *aith*, it is likewise remarkable, that Bryant did not trace it to the Hebrew *אֵשׁ*, i. e. *ash*, *ignis*. The Hebrew *shin* was so frequently converted into a *tau* by other nations, that it can scarcely be doubted that *ath* and *ash* are the same: for the rest, the etymology given by this very learned man appears to me to be just.

*Phlegethon* was one of the rivers which divided the infernal regions, and was fancied by the poets to be a torrent of liquid fire, because the *Græculi* derive it from *φλεγων*. I believe it to be a compound word—*pheleg-Ethon*, *the river of Ethon*—(a title of the sun)—or perhaps, if this river must be of fire, *pheleg-eth-On*, *the river of fire derived from the sun*. *Pheleg* פֶּלֶג signifies a river as expressing its division of the land through which it flows. Its use in this sense, however, is sufficiently common בְּלֵא מֵיִם בְּלֵא אֱלֹהִים. *The river of God is full of water*. Psalm lxxv. 9.

*Phlegon*, one of the horses of the sun, likewise derived by the *Græculi* from *φλεγων*. I read בְּלֵגִין *pars* or *partitio solis*.

Bryant says that *Uch*, *אֲח*, expressed also *Ach*, *Och*, *Οχ*, was a term of honour among the Babylonians, and the rest of the progeny



of Chus. This great etymologist has, however, neglected to state the origin of the word, which is nothing else than אֶחָד written *per apocopen* אַח, and which signifies *unus*, or *primus*, and thence *princeps*. It was also sometimes written אֶחָד, thus שֶׁפָּה אֶחָד *labium unum*. (Gen. xi. 1.) When we meet with the name of *Actæon*, therefore, I read אֶחָד-אֵין *sol princeps*. *Achorus* is אֶחָד-אֵין *primus lux*, or *sol princeps*, and not *sol magnus*, as Bryant has rendered it.

*Bellerophon* is composed of various names and attributes of the sun, בֶּעַל *dominus*, אֵין *lux*, אֵיב *serpens*, or *Pytho*, and אֵין *sol*.

Πλῆγων was the type of the sun retiring from the upper hemisphere, after the autumnal equinox—it is a compound word בֶּלֶכֶן-אֵין *sol effugiens*.

Page 6, line 2. Ως και πολλακις αηρ λεγει τις ερειν Ηρα.]—Diogenes Laertius writes, Ηραν δε, καὶ α την εις αερα. Plato says, Ηρα δε ως εραζη τις, ωσπερ εν και λεγεται ο Ζευς αυτης ερασης εχειν.—ισως δε μετewρολογων ο νομο-θετης του αερα Ηραν ωνομασεν επικρυπτομενος, θεις την αρχην επι τελευτην. Salust the philosopher, and Cicero *de Natura Deorum*, speak to the same effect. (According to Homer, Juno was bound by Jupiter in golden chains. See also Phurnutus *de Natura Deorum*.) But Ηρα and *Juno*, which names were thus explained by the Stoics, were both derived from the Phœnician, for אֵין *aor, lux*, is evidently the root of Ηρα, αερ, ωρα, and many other Greek vocables. Juno is not from *juvando*, but from *Zana*, or *Jana*. *Zan*, in the Æolian dialect, was Jupiter (and *Zana* was the wife of Jupiter.) See Porphyry's life of Pythagoras. Iamblichus, in his life of the same philosopher, has likewise given the name of *Zan* to Jupiter. It is strange that it should not have been perceived by Bryant, that *Son* and *Zan* were corruptions of אֶחָד, which is nothing else than ο ηλιος, and *Zana* is אֶחָד-אֵין which answers to η σεληνη. *Ana* was certainly Phœnician for the moon. The Hebrew word is לְבָנָה *lebana*: and this is evidently a contraction for לְבָנָאנָה *lebanana, luna candida*. *On*, *Un*, *An*, in the ancient oriental languages, signified the sun; *Ona*, *Una*, *Ana*,

the moon. *Ana* in Shanscrit means mother. May not this be the same with *Ana*, *Luna*, who was also the *magna mater*, and the *mater Deorum*?

Page 6, line 4. Οὐδεις τον αερα Αθηναν. τῆς γαρ λεγεσθαι το εκ της Αθηλης, και Zeυς αερην, Zeυς Θηλυς. ]—If the reader has so much time to lose, he may consult Plato (*in Cratylō*), who gives even a more absurd derivation of Αθηνα than the one before us. Let us, however, acknowledge that what we learn from the same Plato seems to be the origin of Αθηνα, for the name of the goddess *Netha*, which was written over the gate at Sais, being read from right to left would give the name of *Athen*. Now this *Netha* I take to be the same with *Nephtha* mentioned by Plutarch. Αθηνα was likewise the symbol of that mystic æther, which the Stoics were so anxious to distinguish from all other matter. Thus Sallust, και Αθηνα τον αιθερα. *Nephtha* was also called *Aithor*, and gave her name to one of the months, as we learn from Hesychius. Could *Aithor* in Egyptian signify æther? See Eustathius *ad Iliad*. A. *Aithor*, is evidently composed of *aith*, *fire*, and *or*, *light*. This example, with many others, may prove that the Hebrew and Egyptian were cognate dialects.

Page 6. line 27. Και Αθηναν μεν οιον Αθηλην αν ειρησθαι. ]—That is to say, απο τε Θηλαζειν, and α privative. See Phurnutus *de Natura Deorum*.

Page 6. line 29. Παρθενιδα. ]—Minerva seems to have been known at Athens by the appellation of the Virgin. The *Parthenon* still remains to attest the taste yet more than the magnificence of the Athenians. This ancient temple has lately been defaced, and the mutilated sculpture which still suited and adorned it, has been sawed off by the barbarous or rapacious hand of a stranger.

Page 6. line 30. γοργονειαν. ]—The letters found in the original were γ—εια. I confess I have some doubts concerning the manner in which this word is filled up. Aristophanes has indeed given the epithet of *Gorgonian* to Minerva; and Palæphatus says, καλυσσι δε

τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν Κυρηναῖοι Γοργοῦν; but this γοργοφονεῖαν seems a little far-fetched, nor does it seem to suit the context. Euripides, it is true, has Γοργοφονη.

Page 7. line 8. Παῖδες ἐν οἱ ἀπο Ζηῶνος, &c.]—This sentence expresses the objection of the Epicureans to the nominal theism of the Stoics. Here, indeed, commences the heavy charge of disbelief in the popular religion, which the Epicureans so impudently urged against their adversaries.

Page 8. line 1. Ἀνθρωποειδὲς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μὴ νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀέρα καὶ πνευμάλα καὶ αἰθέρας.]—The Epicureans pretended, that the gods must have a form resembling the human. *Cic. de Natur. Deor.* l. 1. c. 18.

Page 8, line 7. Διαγορεύ, &c.]—This passage seems to me to bear strongly in favour of the opinion of Clemens Alexandrinus, who maintained, that Diagoras was not an atheist, but that he had provoked the indignation of the people by publishing and ridiculing the mysteries of their religion. The truth is, that every man of sense was ready to think with the Stoics, *physica ratio non inelegans inclusa est in impiis fabulis*; but this was not to be said too openly. Those who were acquainted with the double doctrine, were well aware of the real interpretation of the popular religion, which was given by the priests in developing the mysteries. Hence the anathemas thundered against those, who betrayed the secrets which were communicated to the enlightened few, in the rites performed in honour of Bacchus and Ceres. In the ancient world, atheism was tolerated under the veil of philosophy; reigned, under the mask of religion; and might even show her own face in broad day-light, provided she did not thereby insult the monsters, which she herself had set up as the objects of public adoration. Diagoras divulged the mysteries of Orpheus and of the Cabiri; that is to say, he showed too openly that the religion taught in those ceremonies was nothing else than a system of physics. Can it be wondered then that the priests offered

two talents to any person who should bring him to them alive, and one if he were even dead?

Page 8, line 12. Καθαπερ εν τοις Μαντινέων εθεσιν Αριστοξενος φησιν.]—There were four persons of this name; Aristoxenus the Tarentine; Aristoxenus, of Selinuntum; Aristoxenus, the physician; and Aristoxenus, a philosopher of the Cyrenaic sect. It is probably of the first of these of whom our author speaks. This Aristoxenus wrote no less than four hundred and fifty-two books on various subjects. His *Βιοι ανδρων* were much admired by Plutarch; and his treatise *περι τραγωδοποιων* is praised by Ammonius. The only work of Aristoxenus which remains to us is his *Harmonic Elements*; it may be found in the compilation of Meibomius, with the works of other writers upon the music of the ancients. The book mentioned in the text is not to be found in the list given by Fabricius of the writings of Aristoxenus. It was natural, however, for this author, who wrote concerning the manners of the Mantinæans, to make honourable mention of Diagoras, who, as Ælian informs us, was their legislator. Bayle asks how the Mantinæans came to receive their laws from a man who was proscribed as an atheist at Athens.

Page 8, line 15. Εν δε τη ποιησει, &c.]—The *ασμῶα* of Diagoras are mentioned by Hesychius and Suidas. According to Sextus Empiricus, he began one of his *Dithyrambi* with the following words, “all things proceed from God and fortune.” The learned Brucker says, *inserendus vero est Diagoras lyricis veteribus apud Fabricium*. The omission is indeed the more remarkable, that Fabricius reckons the *ασμῶα* among the lost works of Diagoras.

Page 1, line 24. Εἰς Αριανθην τον Αργειον.]—Could this *Arianthes* have been the Argive mentioned in one of the Odes of Pindar? (*Vide od. Isthmionic. 2.*)

Page 8, line 29. Εἰς Νικοδωρον τον Μαντινέα, &c.]—It appears from Ælian, that this Nicodorus was employed by Diagoras to instruct the Mantinæans in the code of laws which he gave them, and which

merited the praise both of philosophers and historians. The whole question relative to Diagoras, is treated by Bayle with his usual acuteness.

Page 9, line 1. Το Μανθίνεων ἐγκώμιον.]—Fabricius states the number of books written by Diagoras to be only two, namely, his *Ἀσμάλια*, and his *Φρυγιοὶ λόγοι*. We find from our manuscript that the list must be augmented.

Page 9, line 10. Φιλιππε, &c.]—Who is this Philip? The only philosopher of that name was Philip the Opuntian, who transcribed the laws of Plato on wax, and who was also either the transcriber, or the author of the *Epinomis*. *Ενίοι τε φασιν ὅτι Φιλιππος ὁ Οπενήσιος τὰς νόμους αὐτῶς μετέγραψεν ὀνίας ἐν κηρῷ. Τέττε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπινομιδα φασιν εἶναι.* *Diog. Laert.* l. 3. Diogenes likewise testifies that Philip was one of the disciples of Plato; and names him after Speusippus, Xenocrates, and Aristotle. It would seem then that Philip was otherwise called *Φιλοσοφος*, for it must be of him that Suidas speaks, when he says that *Philosophus* divided the laws of Plato into twelve books, and added a thirteenth. But is it likely, that the disciple, and, as it would appear, the admirer of Plato, was capable of holding the sentiments ascribed to Philip in the text?

Page 9, line 13. Μέγα δὲ ταῦτα, &c.]—Compare with this what is said by Balbus (*Cic. de Natur. Deor.* l. 2.) ; and see particularly Aulus Gellius (l. 6. c. 1.), and Lipsius (*Physiol. Stoicor.* l. 1. c. 13, 14, 15, and 16.)

Page 10. line 7. Τέλο γὰρ παύει δὴλ. ὄν. εἶν., &c.]—*Deum autem animantem*, said Velleius, *certe volumus esse*. He then goes on to state and to censure the opinion of Zeno. *Atque hic eadem (lege idem) alio loco æthera, deum dicit esse, si intelligi potest nihil sentiens deus, qui nunquam nobis occurrit neque in precibus, neque in optatis, neque in votis*. It is fair, however, to hear the judgment of others less vehement in their enmity to the Stoics. Καὶ Σχολῆται μὲν φρονέουσι, says Epiphanius, *περὶ θεοῦ τῶν τε φασκονῶν εἶναι νεν τον θεον, η παύλος τε ὀρωμενε κύβες, εραννε τε φημι*

και γης και των αλλων, ως εν σωματι ψυχη. Their doctrine is thus given by Laertius: εις απαν κοσμε μέρος δηκειν τον νεν καθαπερ εφ ημιν την ψυχην. Posidonius indeed called the world εσια εμψυχος και ασθηλικη. Tertulian wrote, *apud vestros quoque sapientes, Λογον, id est, sermonem atque rationem constat artificem videri universitatis. Hunc enim Zeno determinat factitorem, qui cuncta in dispositione formaverit; eundem et Fatum vocari, et Deum, et animum Jovis, et necessitatem omnium rerum.* Seneca asks, *quid inter naturam dei et nostram interest?* He answers, *nostri melior pars est animus; in illo nulla pars extra animum.* I confess, however, that one of the few maxims of the Stoics concerning God, which ever pleased me, is the following—*Nemo novit Deum. Multi de illo male existimant impune.*

Page 10. line 17. *μαλλον η περι της, &c.*—It seems to have been the error of the Stoics, as it has generally been of all materialists, that they conceived mind to be nothing else than the rarest of corporeal essences. The gods themselves, according to the philosophers of the Porch, were material. To those, who believe, as I confess I do, that matter however refined, rarefied, or organized, must still be incapable of thought, this notion must appear monstrous. But if, as our author seems to insinuate, the Stoics held the gods to be merely material, and if Jupiter were only the *æther*, there ought to be no fear of the gods among men. The *æther* may be the rarest of substances, but it can inspire no more awe than other corporeal things, than the heap of sand which the wind lifts in the desert, or than the down of the thistle which flits on the breeze. No one imagines these to be sentient; and if the *æther* of the Stoics be the only God, it is just as incapable of obliging mankind to respect the laws of morality from their dread of the divinity, as would be any thing else which is universally acknowledged to be inanimate.

Page 10. line 23. *Διοπερ εμοι γε το τε Τιμοκλεος ειρηνεινον εν Αιγυπτω δραμα τι περι των εν τη χωρα. &c.*—The Timocles here mentioned, is probably a comic writer of that name who flourished at Athens, and

who wrote a comedy called *οἱ Αἰγυπῆσιοι*. Of this there can indeed be no doubt since Athenaeus has preserved the verses which our author imperfectly quotes. The edition of them, as corrected by Casaubon, is as follows :

Πῶς ἂν μὲν οὖν σώμειαν ἰβύς ἡ κυων ;  
 Ὅπῃ γὰρ ἐς τὰς ὁμολογούμενας θεάς  
 Ἀσεβέωντες καὶ διδοῶσιν εὐθεῶς δίκην,  
 Τιν' αἰλυροῖο βῶμος ἐπιβριψίεν ἂν ;

the names of the various comedies written by Timocles are enumerated by Meursius, in his *Bibliotheca Attica*, l. vi.

Page 11, line 13. *μὲν εἰ τῶν ἐστίν, &c.*—All this is truly said, and forcibly put ; and yet it is impudent enough in an Epicurean to censure so severely the religious notions of a sect, that in form at least admitted the existence of a Providence, which all the followers of Democritus and Leucippus, though not all the advocates for the atomic physiology, were accustomed to deny. The apparent concurrence, however, of the Epicureans with the popular belief, was insufficient to deceive their adversaries. Cotta ridicules, with much happy irony, the affected theism of these philosophers. *Cic. de Natur. Deor.* l. 1.

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It may perhaps be thought, that I myself have spoken too unfavourably of the system of theism taught by such men as Zeno, Chrysippus, Seneca, and Epictetus, and adopted by the most illustrious of patriots, and the most virtuous of monarchs—by a Cato and an Antoninus ; but I write without partiality, and without hostility for any system. I cannot separate the theology of the Stoics from materialism and necessity, and therefore I cannot allow to it the principles of a pure or rational theism. Their morality deserves praise ; but the sternness of its character is more adapted to impress us with awe, than to induce us to imitation. Charity, benevolence, and humility, are the true sources of the social virtues ; and without

them all the moral qualities which are admired in the schools of philosophers, are only splendid fictions, and artificial refinements, invented to satisfy the prejudices, to flatter the vanity, and to conceal the weakness of human nature. It must, however, be admitted that there is much to revere in the moral system of those teachers of wisdom, *qui sola bona quæ honesta* (it is Tacitus who speaks) *mala tantum quæ turpia; potentiam, nobilitatem, cæteraque extra animum, neque bonis, neque malis adnumerant.* Such virtue would, indeed, almost appear divine, could we be certain in any example that it is neither founded upon pride, nor tinged with affectation, nor confirmed by the apathy of a cold temperament, and an unfeeling heart.

I have now only to apologise for the length and the imperfections of this dissertation. From the reception which the Academical Questions experienced, and from the censures of some critics who were angry at hearing so much of Greek metaphysics, I have to fear the reproach of having sinned yet more than before. Yet I know not why such subjects should be ill received by men of letters. Cudworth, Warburton, and many others of our most learned writers, have not thought these Greek metaphysics unworthy of their notice.

The authority of Bacon will be respected, and he holds a very different language from our modern critics: *As for the placits, says he, of ancient Greek philosophers, which men use disdainfully to run over, it will not be amiss to cast our eyes with more reverence upon them: for, although Aristotle, after the manner of the race of the Ottomans, thought he could not safely reign unless he made away with all his brethren; yet to those who seriously propound to themselves the inquisition and illustration of truth, and not dominion or magistrality, it cannot but seem a matter of great profit to see at once before them, the several opinions of several authors touching the nature of things. It is good to read over divers philosophers, as divers glosses upon nature.*



# FRAGMENT OF A GREEK MANUSCRIPT

*found among the Ruins of Herculaneum.*

Page 1.

1           ν εἰς τὴν πρῶ-  
 2 ἐδ' αὖν, οὕτως ἐπεί  
 3 πᾶ ἀδελφαὶ τινες  
 4 ἐν ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ εὐε-  
 5 γήκ' ἐκελευσέν  
 6           ν αἱ ἡς  
 7       ς τοιαύταις. Αὐτὸς  
 8 οὐ εὐχάσθαι τοῖς  
 9 θεοῖς δῶκεν, γὰρ  
 10       θεν δίδει-  
 11 λ' ἵα περὶ αὐτῶν  
 12       ἐν αὐτοῖς. Ἀλ-  
 13       αι χρυσ-  
 14       αὐ ἐῖδ' α-  
 15       τῶ πρῶ-  
 16       δὶα ρη  
 17       α παν-  
 18       ῆλα λόγον  
 19 κ'       τὴν οὐκ ψυ-  
 20 χῆ       τῇ τῆς  
 21 μ'       παύλα  
 22       σ  
 23       αι καὶ τὰς λ  
 24       ης. Διὸ καὶ Ζηνα  
 25 καλ' ἔχει Δία δῶλ  
 26 ριον, ἵον τὴν κόσμον τῶν ἀνοσώ-  
 27 ἐμψυχῶν εἶναι, αἱ  
 28 θεῶν αἱ τοῦ  
 29 κόν' αἱ τῶν ο  
 30 χ' ν. Καὶ ὦ  
 31 καλὸν εὖν  
 32 θᾶτον Δία, καὶ τῶν  
 33 κοῖτην παύλων

U

## Page 2.

- 1 Φυσιν, και ειμαρμε-
- 2 νην, και αναγ ν,
- 3 και την αυτην εινα
- 4 και ευνομιαν, και δι-
- 5 κην, αι ομοιοιαν, κα
- 6 ισηνην, και Αφροδι-
- 7 την, και το παρ πλη-
- 8 σιον παν. Και μη εινα
- 9 Σεως αρενας, μηδε
- 10 Θηλειας, ως μηδε
- 11 πολεις, μηδ' αε Ιας·
- 12 νομαζεσθαι δε μο-
- 13 νον αρενικως, και Θη-
- 14 λυκος ταυτα ον α.
- 15 Καθαπερ σεληνην,
- 16 και να· και τον Αρη
- 17 κ υ πολεμα
- 18 τε αι, και της
- 19 τα και αν Ια-
- 20 ξ φαισιν δε
- 21 πυ αι, και Κροισι
- 22 τε ξεν α-
- 23 τος ρ ν. Ρεαν δε την
- 24 γην. Δια δε τον αιθε-
- 25 ρα· της δε τον Απολ
- 26 λω, και την Δημη-
- 27 τρα γ ν, η το εν αυ-
- 28 τη γονευμα. και παι-
- 29 δαριω ως λεγεσθαι,
- 30 και γραφεσθαι, και
- 31 πλαλ εσθαι ς
- 32 ανθρ
- 33 εν τροπον, και πο-
- 34 λεις, και πολυμας,
- 35 και τοπας, και πα-

Page 3.

1 Θ αι Δια μ να-  
 2 ρι την ν α-  
 3 ερα, ο δε σκο νον  
 4 Αιδ τον δε Δια της  
 5 γης αι θαλασσης Πο-  
 6 σ και το αλ-  
 7 λου δε θεος αψυχοισ  
 8 ως και τειρας συν-  
 9 οικειοι' και τον ηλι-  
 10 ον και την σελη-  
 11 νην, και τας αλλας  
 12 αστεας θεος οιε-  
 13 ται, και τον νομον.  
 14 κα νθρωπους εις  
 15 θεο ς φησι με αβα-  
 16 λει. Εν δε τω δευ-  
 17 τερ τα τε εις Ορφε-  
 18 α ουσαιον ανα-  
 19 φερει α, και α  
 20 παρ' μηρω, και Η-  
 21 σιοδ, και Ευρι  
 22 δη, και ποιηταις αλ-  
 23 λοις ς κα Κλεαν-  
 24 της ερατα νοι-  
 25 κειου ταις δοξαις  
 26 αυτω. απαν γαρ εσ-  
 27 τιν αιθηρ ο αυτος  
 28 ων και πατηρ και  
 29 υιος. καν τω  
 30 περω μη μα-  
 31 χεσθαι το την Ρε-

## Page 4.

- 1 ν και μηηξα  
 2 Διοσ ευαι και  
 3 Ήρα. τας δ' αὖτας  
 4 ποιει ταις σ νοικει-  
 5 ς. καν τω περ-  
 6 αξηών. ον  
 7 δια νομον φησι ει-  
 8 ναι, και τας χαρηῖας  
 9 τας ημεῖς ας κα-  
 10 ι αρχας, κα ας αν-  
 11 ταπ δασεις των  
 12 ευε εστω τα πα-  
 13 ραπλησια δε καν  
 14 τοις περι φυσεως  
 15 γξαφει μετ'ων  
 16 μ . και τοις Ηρα-  
 17 κλ α, συνοικειών  
 18 κ η. καν τω π  
 19 τ την νικη  
 20 Θεων φησιν  
 21 Πρωτοσπιν. Εν δε  
 22 τω τριτω τον κ  
 23 μον ενα των φ  
 24 ν μ ν συνπολει-  
 25 τευομενον Θεοις,  
 26 και ανθρωποις, και  
 27 τον πολ.εμ . και  
 28 τον Δικ του ἴο  
 29 ειναι. καθαπ ς και  
 30 τον Ηρακλειδου, λε-  
 31 γειν. Εν δε τω πεμ-  
 32 πτω, και λογος ε-

Page 5.

1 νῶλαι παλῆς οὐ  
2 κοσμοῦ ζῶιον εἶναι,  
3 καὶ λογικόν, καὶ φρο-  
4 νουν, καὶ θεόν. Κα  
5 τοῖς περὶ προνοίας  
6 μὲν τοι τὰς αἰῶας  
7 ἐκίθησιν συνοί-  
8 κειώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ  
9 τοῦ παύλος, καὶ τὰ  
10 τῶν θεῶν οὐρα-  
11 νῆ εὐφραμένη, τῆς  
12 θρεμμένης ἀπο-  
13 λάνων ἀκοπιᾶως.  
14 Δ' οἰγενὴς δ' ὁ Βαβυ-  
15 λωνίος ἐν τῷ περὶ  
16 τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, τὴν  
17 κοσμοῦν γράφει τῷ  
18 Δ' τὸν αὐτοῦ υπαρχ-  
19 ν, περὶ ἵχθους  
20 Δικὰ ἀπερ-  
21 ανθρῶπο ὑχῇ  
22 καὶ τὸν οὐ μ  
23 Ἀπολλ, ὁ δ'  
24 ληνὴν ἱμῖν.  
25 τὸ Δι δ' σείν  
26 θεὸς ἱρ οὐς  
27 θεῖς λ ὁ καὶ ἀδυ-  
28 νῶλον αὐτῆς  
29 Διὸς τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν  
30 θαλάσσαν διαί-  
31 τα ὡς Ἡοσειδ  
32 καὶ οὐ δ' εἰς τὴν γῆν  
33 Δημήτρα. τὸ δ' εἰς  
34 οὐ αἶρα Ἡρα καὶ

## Page 6.

- 1 Θαπερ κ
- 2 ἴωκα λεγειν ως
- 3 αν πολλακις αηρ λε-
- 4 γη τις ερειν Η
- 5 δεις το αερα Αθη-
- 6 ναν· τῷο γαρ λε σ-
- 7 Σαι το εκ της
- 8 λης και Zeus αρεην,
- 9 Zeus Δηλυς. Τινας
- 10 δε των Στωικων
- 11 φασκειν οἷε το ηγε-
- 12 μονικον εν τη κ -
- 13 φαλη φρονησιν γ'α
- 14 ειναι διο και μηῖου
- 15 καλεσθαι. Χρυσιπ-
- 16 πον δ'εν τω σῆη-
- 17 Σει το ηγεμονικον
- 18 ναι, κακει την
- 19 ην αν γε ουεν
- 20 ρονησιν εσαν. τω
- 21 δε τ φωνην εκ
- 22 της φαλης εκκρι-
- 23 νεσσαι εγεν εκ της
- 24 εφα ης υποδεη-
- 25 αι οἱ τ
- 26 χνη νεθη φρονη-
- 27 σις. και Αθηναν μεν
- 28 ο ου Αθ ν αν ειρη-
- 29 Σαι δα δε και
- 30 γ εια
- 31 το την φρονησιν
- 32 εκ τριων συνεσ-
- 33 ἴηκεναι λογων

Page 7.

1 τω φ , και  
2 τω ικων αι των  
3 λογικων και τας αλλας  
4 δ' αυτ' αγρα-  
5 ας και τα φορηματ' α  
6 μαλα κατ' α χρυσως τη  
7 φρονησει συνοικει-  
8 οι. Π ητες υν οι α-  
9 πο Ζ ωνος, ει και α-  
10 πελ που το δαιμο-  
11 νιον σπ ρ οι ν ου  
12 κατ' λειπον δ' εν  
13 τισιν ου κατ' ε που  
14 ενα ου λεγν ν ει-  
15 ναι γινεσθω και  
16 το παν συν τη ψυχη πλα-  
17 νωσιν δ' ο πολλας  
18 απολ ιπουτ' ως  
19 αν ει μ νο  
20 σιν α ν αιρ ιν επι-  
21 δεικ υσθω αν τοις  
22 πολλοι ενα μονου  
23 απαντα λεγουτες ου  
24 πολλας εδε παντας  
25 οσας η κοινη ημη  
26 παξαδεδωκει, ημων  
27 ε μονον οσας φασιν  
28 οι πανελληνες, αλλα  
29 και πλειονας ειναι λε-  
30 γουτων. Εις οτι τοι-  
31 ητο ς ουδε μεμη-  
32 κασιν απολειπειν  
33 οους βουται αν-  
34 ητες και ην τι ολο-

## Page 8.

1 υμ υ αυθρ  
 2 δεις γαρ εκεινοι νο-  
 3 μίζουσιν αλλα αερα  
 4 και πν υμωα αι αι-  
 5 θεας ωσ' εγωγε και  
 6 τεθαρσηκυως ειπαι-  
 7 μι τωης Διαγορου  
 8 μαλλου πλημαλειν.  
 9 Ο μεν γαρ επα ξεν ει-  
 10 περ αρη και τε  
 11 εστιν αλλ ηκ επενη-  
 12 νεκ αι, καθαπερ υ  
 13 τοις Μαυινων εθε-  
 14 σιν Αριστοξενος φη-  
 15 σιν. Εν δε τη ποιησει  
 16 καλ' αληθειαν υπ' αυ-  
 17 τη γεγραφθαι, τοις ε-  
 18 λοις εδεν ασεβες πα-  
 19 ρεμφ νεν, αλλ' εστιν  
 20 ευφημο. ως ποιητης,  
 12 εις το δαιμονιον, κα-  
 22 θαπερ αλλα τη μαρτυ-  
 23 ρει, και το γεγραμμε-  
 24 νον εις Αρικουθην του  
 25 Αργειου, θεος, θεος  
 26 προ παντος εργη  
 27 βρολεις ναμα φρε-  
 28 να υπερβηλιν και  
 29 το εις Νικοδωρου  
 30 του Μαυινεα, κα-  
 31 τα δαιμονια και τυχαν  
 32 τα παντα βρολοισιν  
 33 εκλεισθαι. τα πα-  
 34 απλησια δ' αυτω.



Page 9.

1 πέριε ο Μαν-  
 2 τινέων ενκαμίον·  
 3 Ουῖοι δὲ θέες εν τοῖς  
 4 υνγερμασιν επο  
 5 νομαζούε ανη-  
 6 ρον εξεργαστικως  
 7 τοῖς περαγμασιν αι με-  
 8 λα σπαδης α λευ-  
 9 Σεαίεροι γιν ε-  
 10 νοι Φιλιππε και των  
 11 αλλων των απλως το  
 12 Σε ον α αιρινίαν.  
 13 Μέλα δε ταυλα επιδει-  
 14 κτεον αυλης, ὅι βλα-  
 15 βης, και κακων κ φα-  
 16 σιν αιήας εναι τοῖς  
 17 νθρω οἰς της Σε-  
 18 υ δοξαζούας απε-  
 19 εσθαι των αδικο-  
 20 ραγηματώ νοι  
 21 φασιν. Ημεῖς δ και  
 22 ταυτ' ενιοῖς εξ αυτων  
 23 λεγομεν παρακολου-  
 24 ε , και των αγαθω  
 25 τα μεγαλῖα, και διο-  
 26 τ τα Σεῖα τοιαντα κα-  
 27 λειπεσιν και ε-  
 28 λα, και φθέρη φα-  
 29 ν ι. τοῖς δε ποσιν  
 30 Ημεῖς ακολουθῶς αι-  
 31 διος, και σφελος  
 32 εναι θυμητιζομεν·  
 33 το δε συνεχον εν γαρ  
 34 αλλοῖς υπογραφησε

## Page 10.

- 1 ται α αλλα' δι'ηι και
- 2 απαφαινω'ηαι βλα-
- 3 π'ειν, και ωφελειν
- 4 τας θεας ερ η-
- 5 δε το δευτερον αυ-
- 6 τοις ακολουθησιν ε-
- 7 πιδειχθησεται. τα-
- 8 ο γε ανηι δηλου
- 9 ε'ιν, ως υδε εις των
- 10 παπο'ιε ανθρωπων
- 11 τον αερα και ου κι-
- 12 θερα φοβαμενος, η
- 13 το παν, απεχε'ται τ
- 14 νος αδικα πραγμα-
- 15 τοσ ουκ' ο'ι των προς
- 16 αμεγα'ις εις εροις
- 17 συνεχε'αι, μαλλον η περ-
- 18 ι τας ν αμμω θινα
- 19 η τα επι των α-
- 20 κανθιω παππων, α
- 21 γε φανερωσ αντισθη-
- 22 τα κα'αλαμειανσι\*
- 23 Διοπερ εμοι γε το τυ
- 24 Τιμοκλεος ειρημει-
- 25 νον εν Αιγυπτω δρα-
- 26 μα τι πρι των εν τη
- 27 χωρα θεων επι τα
- 28 ικς επερχε'αι με-
- 29 αφερεν. Οπι γαρ
- 30 φησιν εις τας ομοιο-
- 31 γουμειν υς θεας α-
- 32 σεθεν ες η διδο-
- 33 ασιν ευθειας δικην
- 34 τινα ε ηρ' η βω-

Page 11.

- 1 μος επ' ἱρεῖψεν
- 2 αν νί εγὼ υς
- 3 θεὸς τοιῶνς υπο-
- 4 λαμβανούντες οἷας
- 5 τυφὸς εἰσηγαγεν
- 6 φέροις χρωτὶ κα-
- 7 ἢ δύναμιν ἐκ στίβοι
- 8 τας κακουργίαι η
- 9 πα νομιζόμεν αυ-
- 10 ἴας ἀερα φοβόμε-
- 11 νας ἀφευξέσθαι τινος
- 12 ὡν καλ πωλάων ;
- 13 ἐν εἰ τ' ἴεσιν
- 14 ο τῆς αἰκίας α-
- 15 παλλαῖο ἐκ ἴως
- 16 αν τις ἐπιφεροί τα-
- 17 ἴοις οἱ του τῶν θη-
- 18 ρίων βιον ἰς τας
- 19 νθεωπ ὅς μέλα-
- 20 φερῶσιν, καὶ μαλίσ-
- 21 τ' ἐκν μὴδ' ἐπιστρε-
- 22 φωνάει, καθάπει φα-
- 23 σιν, τῶν πολλῶν
- 24 δια ταυτ' αὖ ψογὼ βλε-
- 25 π ἴαι δ' οὐ κα κα-
- 26 ἴα παντὶας τας περὶ
- 27 αὐτῶν ἐκτεταμένως,
- 28 ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὴν αἰκίας
- 29 ἀπερὶ ῥυθμὴν δέδοται-
- 30 κως τας ἀδ' ἐπικει-
- 31 ν καὶ δύναμει-
- 32 ναι ἡ τας ἐνερ-
- 33 γῶ ἀνασθέντες

## Page 12.

- 1 Η τῆς ἀγνώστου
- 2 τινος εἰσι, θε δεκ-
- 3 τας, ἡ ποιοι τινος ε-
- 4 σιν, ἡ τῆς διαρρη-
- 5 δην, οἱ κε εσιν α-
- 6 πεφαινεμῶς, ἡ φα-
- 7 νεως αἰας, ὡς αν
- 8 ηρην, καὶ ἐν ες
- 9 δε καν ἐπ' αὐτῇ προ-
- 10 ῥαπειῇ τῆς καν τοῖς
- 11 θεοῖς μέγα φιλαρχίας
- 12 ποδῶν ἀσπουδον
- 13 παρὰ σπειγνῶς ὡς-
- 14 ἔχει τοῦ μέγας
- 15 τῆς τῆς διαρε-
- 16 σεως τῆς καὶ ἀρχας
- 17 ἐκλήθεισος ἀπο-
- 18 χρωδῶς ἐξεργασ-
- 19 μιν. καιρος αν ε-
- 20 πι τον περι τῆς ευ-
- 21 σεβείας λογῶν τῆς
- 22 καὶ Ἐπικριον αυ-
- 23 ἡ παραγραφῆς.

*The preceding FRAGMENT, as read and supplied by the Academicians  
of Portici.*

Page 1.

- 1 Καλεσειν εις την προ
- 2 εδραν, ούτως επει
- 3 παραδεδουλει τινες
- 4 μεν αγαθοι, και ευεργ-
- 5 γητικοι κελευσειν
- 6 τιμαν αυτους θυσι-
- 7 αις τοικυβαις. Αυτος
- 8 δ' ουκ ευχασθαι τοις
- 9 θεοις δωρεαν, γαρ
- 10 εινα μηθεν δει-
- 11 ληφοια περι αυτων
- 12 δορυξειν εαυτον. Αλ-
- 13 λα οειλει Χρυσιπ-
- 14 πος. το παν επιδια-
- 15 κρινων εν τω πρω-
- 16 τω περι θων διαρρη
- 17 δην την φρενα παν-
- 18 των, και παύλα λογον
- 19 και την τε ολη ψυ-
- 20 χην, και τη τει
- 21 μεν ψυχη παύλα
- 22 Παύλαχχ γινεσ
- 23 θαι θεον, και τας λι
- 24 θες. Διο και Ζηνε
- 25 καλεσθαι Δια δόλη-
- 26 ριον, αυτον τε κοσμον των ανωστω-
- 27 ν εμψυχον εινα, και
- 28 θεον και το ηγεμονι-
- 29 κον εινα την ολη
- 30 ψυχην. Και ελω
- 31 ακλογον ευναζεσ-
- 32 θαι τον Δια, και την
- 33 κοινην παύλων

## Page 2.

- 1 Φυσιν, και εμαρμει-
- 2 νην, και ανγκην,
- 3 και την αυην ειναι
- 4 και ευνομιαν, και δι-
- 5 κην, και ομονοιαν, και ε-
- 6 ισηνν, και Αφροδι-
- 7 την, και το παραπλη-
- 8 σιον παν. Και μη ειναι
- 9 θεας αρενας, μηδε
- 10 θηλειας, ως μηδε
- 11 πολεις, μηδ' αρεϊας·
- 12 ονομαζεσθαι δε μο-
- 13 νον αρενικως, και θη-
- 14 λυκως ταυτα ουτα.
- 15 Καθαπερ σεληνην,
- 16 και πανα· και τον Αρη
- 17 καλα του πολεμου
- 18 τε βηναι, και της
- 19 ταξεως και ανηλα-
- 20 ξεως. Ηφαιστον δε
- 21 πυρ ειναι, και Κρονον
- 22 αιωνιον τι ρευμα-
- 23 τος ρουν. Ρεαν δε την
- 24 γην. Δια δε του αιθε-
- 25 ρα· της δε του Απολ-
- 26 λω, και την Δημη-
- 27 τρα γην, η το εν αυ-
- 28 τη γυνευμα. και πκι-
- 29 δαξινιδως λιγεσθαι,
- 30 και γεαζεσθαι, και
- 31 πλαιεσθαι τοις
- 32 ανθρωποις τοις
- 33 εν τξοπον, και πο-
- 34 λεις, και πολαμης,
- 35 και τοπης, και πα-

Page 3.

- 1 Ή και Διὰ μὲν εἰνα-
- 2 ἰ του περὶ τὴν γῆν α-
- 3 ερα, το δε σκυλῆινον
- 4 Αἰδην. του δε Διὰ της
- 5 γῆς, και θαλαττῆς Πο-
- 6 σειδα, και τουσ αλ-
- 7 λους δε θεος αψυχουσ
- 8 ως και τῆς συν-
- 9 οικειοι· και του ηλι-
- 10 ου μὲν, και τὴν σελή-
- 11 νην, και της ἀλλης
- 12 ἀστῆρας θεος οἰε-
- 13 ῖται, και του νομον.
- 14 και ἀνθρώπους εἰς
- 15 θεους φησι μῆτις βα-
- 16 λειν. Εὐ δε τῷ δευ-
- 17 ῖτω τα τε εἰς Ορφε-
- 18 α, και Μουσαιοι ἀνα-
- 19 φερεῖ θεα, και τα
- 20 παρ' Ομηρῷ, και Η-
- 21 σίοδῳ, και Εὐριπι-
- 22 δῃ, και ποιηταῖς ἀλ-
- 23 λοις τουσ και Κλεαν-
- 24 θῆς πειραταῖς συνοι-
- 25 κειουνται· δοξαίς
- 26 αὐτῷ. ἀπαν γὰρ εἰς-
- 27 ῖν αἰθερ ο αὐτος
- 28 ων και πατὴρ και
- 29 υἱος φησι. και τῷ
- 30 πρῶτῳ μὴ μα-
- 31 χεσθῆαι το τὴν Ρε-

## Page 4.

- 1 αν και μηληρα του
- 2 Διοσ εινα και θυγα-
- 3 λερα. τας δ' αυλας
- 4 ποιει ταις συνοικει-
- 5 ωσεις. και τω περ-
- 6 ι αρετων. το θειον
- 7 δια νομον φησι ει-
- 8 ναι, και τας χαριλας
- 9 τας ημετερας κα-
- 10 ι αρχας, και τας αν-
- 11 ταποδοσεις των
- 12 ευεργεσιων τα πα-
- 13 ραπληστια δε και
- 14 τοις περι φυσεως
- 15 γραφει μεθ' αν συνα-
- 16 μοσε, και ταις Ηρα-
- 17 κλειδ, συνοικειων
- 18 κοινη. και τω πρω-
- 19 τιστω την νικηα
- 20 θεαν φησιν εινα
- 21 Πρωτιστην. Εν δε
- 22 τω τριτω τον κοσ-
- 23 μον ενα των φρο-
- 24 νιμων συνπολει-
- 25 τευμενον θεοις,
- 26 και ανθρωποις, και
- 27 τον πολεμον, και
- 28 τον Δια τον αυτον
- 29 εινα, καθαπερ και
- 30 τον Ηρακλειδου, λε-
- 31 γειν. Εν δε τω πεμ-
- 32 πτω, και λογες ε-



## Page 5.

- 1 νῶϊ καὶ πανίᾳς του
- 2 κοσμοῦ ζῶντι εἶναι,
- 3 καὶ λογικῶν, καὶ φρο-
- 4 νουν, καὶ θεῶν. Καὶ
- 5 τοῖς περὶ προνοίας
- 6 μὲν τοὶ τὰς αἰτίας
- 7 ἐκτίθουσιν συνοι-
- 8 κειώσταις τὴν ψυχὴν
- 9 τοῦ παντός, καὶ τὰ
- 10 τῶν θεῶν νομα-
- 11 ῖν ἐφαρμόζει, τῆς
- 12 θρεμνύτης ἀπο-
- 13 λαύων ἀκοπιδίας.
- 14 Διογενὲς δ' ὁ Βαβυ-
- 15 λωνίος ἐν τῷ περὶ
- 16 τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, τοῦ
- 17 κοσμοῦ γράφει τῷ
- 18 Διὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ υπαρ-
- 19 χεῖν, περιέχειν
- 20 τοῦ Διὸς καὶ πατρὸς
- 21 ἀνδρῶν τὴν ψυχὴν
- 22 καὶ τοῦ Ἡλίου μὲν
- 23 Ἀπολλῶν, τὴν δὲ σε-
- 24 ληνὴν Ἀρτέμιδιν. καὶ
- 25 τοῦ Διὸς μὴ θυτεῖν
- 26 θεοὺς ἀλλότριους ου-
- 27 δεῖς ληΐν καὶ ἀδυ-
- 28 νᾶτον εἶναι πόλιν τὴν
- 29 Διὸς τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν
- 30 Σαλαμῖν διὰ τὴν
- 31 τὰ γὰρ Ποσειδῶν
- 32 καὶ τὸ δ' εἰς τὴν γῆν
- 33 Δημήτριν, τὸ δ' εἰς
- 34 τοῦ αἰῶνος Ἡρᾶν κα-

## Page 6.

- 1 Ἐκπερ καὶ Πλου-
- 2 Ἰωνα λεγεῖν ὡς κ-
- 3 ἀν πολλὰ κίς ἀπὸ λε-
- 4 γη τις εἶναι Ἡρα ου-
- 5 δεις τοῦ ἀερα Ἀθη-
- 6 νων· τῷ γὰρ λεγέσ-
- 7 θαι το ἐκ τῆς ἀθη-
- 8 λης καὶ Ζεὺς ἀρρη,
- 9 Ζεὺς θηλὺς. Τίνας
- 10 δε τῶν Στωικῶν
- 11 φασκεῖν ὅτι το ηγε-
- 12 μονικὸν ἐν τῇ κε-
- 13 φαλῇ φρονήσιν ἔαν
- 14 εἶναι διὸ καὶ μῆλον
- 15 καλεσθαι. Χρυσίπ-
- 16 πον δ' ἐν τῷ σίῃ-
- 17 θει το ηγεμονικόν
- 18 εἶναι, κακεὶ τὴν φῶ-
- 19 νην αὐ γέγονεναι
- 20 φρονήσιν εἶσαν. τῷ
- 21 δε τὴν φωνὴν ἐκ
- 22 τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκκρί-
- 23 νεσθαι λεγεῖν ἐκ τῆς
- 24 κεφαλῆς ὑποδεη-
- 25 σαι οἰεῖν ὅτι τε-
- 26 χνη συνέθη φρονη-
- 27 σις. καὶ Ἀθηναίαν μὲν
- 28 οἶον Ἀθηνῶν αὐ εἶρη-
- 29 θαι Παρθενίδα δε καὶ
- 30 γοργόφονεαν δια
- 31 το τὴν φρονήσιν
- 32 ἐκ τριῶν συνεσ-
- 33 ἴκνεσθαι λόγων

## Page 7.

- 1 τῶν φυτικῶν, καὶ
- 2 τῶν ἡθικῶν καὶ τῶν
- 3 λογικῶν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας
- 4 δ' αὖτως προσαγορεῖ-
- 5 ας καὶ τὰ φορημὰ
- 6 μαλὰ καὶ χρυσῶς τη
- 7 φρονήσει συνοικεῖ-
- 8 οί. Πάντες οὖν οἱ ἀ-
- 9 πο Ζενῶνος, εἰ καὶ ἀ-
- 10 πέλειςπον το δαιμό-
- 11 νιον ὥσπερ οἶμαι οὐ
- 12 κατελείπον οἱ δ' ἐν
- 13 τίσιν οὐ κατελείπον
- 14 ἐνα θεὸν λεγῶσιν εἰ-
- 15 ναι γινεσθῶ δὲ καὶ
- 16 το παν συν τη ψυχῇ πλα-
- 17 νῶσιν δ' οὐ πολλὰς
- 18 ἀπολείποντες ὥς οὐ
- 19 καν εἰ μόνον λεγῶ-
- 20 σιν αὖτις αἰρεσὶν ἐπι-
- 21 δεικνυσθῶσαν τοῖς
- 22 πολλοῖς ἐνα μόνον
- 23 ἀπαίτῃ λεγόντες οὐ
- 24 πολλὰς καὶ πάντας
- 25 οὐκ ἡ κοινὴ φήμη
- 26 παρὰ δὲ δῶκεν, ἡμῶν
- 27 ἢ μόνον οὐκ ἔστιν
- 28 οἱ πανέλληνες, ἀλλὰ
- 29 καὶ πλείους εἶναι λε-
- 30 γόντων. Εἰς οἱ τοι-
- 31 κῆρος οὐδὲ μεμνη-
- 32 κασιν ἀπολείπειν
- 33 οὖς σεβόμεναι παν-
- 34 τες καὶ τὴν τινα ὁμολο-

## Page 8.

- 1 γονυμεν ανθρωποι-
- 2 δεις γαρ εκεινοι μη νο-
- 3 μιζυσιν αλλα σερα
- 4 και πνευματα και αι-
- 5 σερας ωστί' εγωγε και
- 6 τεθαρρηκόως ειπαι-
- 7 μι τήϊες Διχαρσου
- 8 μαλλου πλημμελειν.
- 9 Ο μιν γαρ επαιξεν ει-
- 10 περ αρχαι και τα θ' οίως
- 11 εσθιν αλλ εκ επενη-
- 12 νεηται, καθαπερ εν
- 13 τοις Μαυίνειον εθε-
- 14 σιν Αριστοξενος φη-
- 15 σιν. Εν δε τη ποιησει
- 16 κατ' αληθειαν υπ' αυ-
- 17 τα γεγραφθαι, τοις ο-
- 18 λοις υδ'εν ασειβες πα-
- 19 ρεμφαιμεν, αλλ' εσθιν
- 20 ευφημος, ως ποιήτης,
- 21 εις το δαιμονιον, κα-
- 22 θαπερ αλλα τη μαρτυ-
- 23 ρει, και το γεγραμμε-
- 24 νον εις Αριανθην του
- 25 Αργείου, θεος, θεος
- 26 προ παλαιοσ εργω
- 27 βρολεια νωμα ρε-
- 28 να υπερίσταλιν και
- 29 το εις Νικοδωρου
- 30 του Μαυίνεια, κα-
- 31 τα δαιμονια και τυχαν
- 32 τα παλαια βρολοισιν
- 33 εκλεισθαι. τα πα-
- 34 ραπλησια δ' αυτω.

## Page 9.

- 1 περιεχει και το Μαν-
- 2 θινεων ενωμιον·
- 3 Ολοι δε θεος εν τοις
- 4 συνηγμασιν επο
- 5 νομαζοντες ανη-
- 6 ρην εξεργαστικως
- 7 τοις πραγμασιν και με-
- 8 τα σπευδης αν ελευ-
- 9 θεραξεν· γινομε-
- 10 νοι Φιλλιππε και των
- 11 αλλων των απλων το
- 12 θειν αναρυνων.
- 13 Μετα δε ταυτα επιδει-
- 14 κειον αυτες, ηι βλα-
- 15 βης, και κακων η φα-
- 16 σιν αληθης ειναι τοις
- 17 ανθρωποις τες θε-
- 18 ους δοξαζοντας απει-
- 19 χεσθαι των αδικο-
- 20 πραγματων ενιοι
- 21 φασιν. Ημεις δε και
- 22 ταυτ ενιοις εξ αυτων
- 23 λεγομεν παρακολου-
- 24 θειν, και των αγαθων
- 25 τα μεγαιστα, και διο-
- 26 τα τα θεια τοιαυτα κα-
- 27 ταλειπασιν και γε-
- 28 νητα, και φθαρτα φαι-
- 29 νηται. τοις δε πασιν
- 30 Ημεις ακολουθως αι-
- 31 διως, και φθαρης
- 32 ειναι δογματιζομεν·
- 33 το δε συνεχον· εν γαρ
- 34 αλλοις υπογραφησε

## Page 10.

- 1 ται τα ἀλλὰ· διότι καὶ
- 2 ἀπαφαινώθει βλα-
- 3 πτεῖν, καὶ ὠφελεῖν
- 4 τῆς θεῆς· ὡς περ ἔ-
- 5 δε το δεύτερον αὐ-
- 6 τοῖς ἀπολλωνίου ἐ-
- 7 πιδειχθήσεσθαι. τε-
- 8 το γὰρ παύει δῆλον
- 9 εἶναι, ὡς ἔδε εἰς τῶν
- 10 πωποῦ ἀνδρῶν
- 11 τὸν αἶρα καὶ τὸν αἰ-
- 12 θερα φοβεμένους, ἢ
- 13 τὸ πᾶν, ἀπεχθῆναι τι
- 14 νος ἀδικῆ πράγμα-
- 15 ῖος οὐκ' οὐ τῶν πρὸς
- 16 ἀμεγιστοῖς εἰμεροῖς
- 17 συνεχῆναι, μάλλον ἢ περ-
- 18 ἰ τῆς καὶ ἀμμῶ θινῆς
- 19 ἢ τὰ γῆρυ ἐπὶ τῶν α-
- 20 καθιῶν παππῶν, α
- 21 γὰρ φανερώς ἀναισθη-
- 22 ῖα καὶ ἀλαλμαθῆναι·
- 23 Διόπερ ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ τε
- 24 Ἱμακλέας εἰρημέ-
- 25 νον ἐν Λιγυρίῳ δρα-
- 26 μα τι περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ
- 27 χώρα θεῶν ἐπὶ τε
- 28 τῆς ἐπερχέσθαι με-
- 29 λαφεῖν. Ὅπερ γὰρ
- 30 φησὶν εἰς τῆς ὁμολο-
- 31 γούμενους θεῆς α-
- 32 σεβόμενος ἔτι δὶδο-
- 33 ασιν εὐθὺς δικήν
- 34 τίνα τε δαρ' ἔβω-

## Page 11.

- 1 *μος ἐπιτρέπειεν*
- 2 *αν ἀνίλεγοσι τοὺς*
- 3 *θεῖς τοιαύτας ὑπο-*
- 4 *λαμβανούσας*
- 5 *ο τυφὸς εἰσηγάγεν*
- 6 *αφ' οἷς χρωταῖ κα-*
- 7 *τὰ δυνάμιν ἐκαστοῖ*
- 8 *ταῖς κακουργίαις ἡ*
- 9 *πε νομιζόμεν αὐ-*
- 10 *τὸς ἀεὶ φοβούμε-*
- 11 *νός ἀφευξέσθαι τινος*
- 12 *τῶν καλεπωτῶν ;*
- 13 *μὲν εἰ τοῦτ' ἐστίν*
- 14 *το τῆς κεικίας α-*
- 15 *παλλὰλλον εἰκότως*
- 16 *αν τις ἐπιφέρει τε-*
- 17 *τοῖς οἷ τον των θε-*
- 18 *μιων βίον εἰς τες*
- 19 *ἀνδρωποὺς μέλα-*
- 20 *φερῶσιν, καὶ μαλίσ-*
- 21 *τ' ἐὰν μὴδ' ἐπιστρέ-*
- 22 *φώνῃ, καθάπερ φα-*
- 23 *σιν, τῶν πολλῶν*
- 24 *δὲ ταυτὰ ψογῶν βλε-*
- 25 *πηταὶ δ' οὖν καὶ κα-*
- 26 *τὰ πάλιν τες προ*
- 27 *αὐτῶν ἐκκειμένους,*
- 28 *ἐθ' εἰς ἀν ἀδικίας*
- 29 *ἀπειρῶν δέδοι-*
- 30 *κως τες ἐθ' ἐπικει-*
- 31 *νῆθηναι δυνάμει-*
- 32 *νός ἡ τες ἐνάρ-*
- 33 *γως τ' ἀναισθητός*

## Page 12.

- 1 Η τῆς ἀγνωστῶν
- 2 τινες εἰσι, ἑοδὲκ-
- 3 ἴας, ἡ ποιοὶ τι· εἰς
- 4 σιν, ἡ τῆς διαρρη-
- 5 ὄην, οἱ κ' εἰσιν α-
- 6 ποφαινόμενους, ἡ φα-
- 7 νέρως οὐίας, ὡς αὐ-
- 8 ἦραν, καὶ ἐνίαις
- 9 δε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν προ-
- 10 ῥαπειῇ τῆς καὶ τοῖς
- 11 θεοῖς μέγα φιλαρχίας
- 12 πολέμου ἀσπιδίου
- 13 παρασειγούιας ὡς-
- 14 ἦε καὶ τοῦ μέρους
- 15 τῶν τῆς διαίρε-
- 16 σεως τῆς καὶ ἀρχίας
- 17 ἐκθέσεως ἀπο-
- 18 χρωῶς ἐξεργασ-
- 19 μέν, καὶρος αὐ ἐ-
- 20 πι τὸν περὶ τῆς εὐ-
- 21 σθβείας λόγου τῆς
- 22 καὶ Ἐπικερὸν αὐ-
- 23 ἴα παραγχεφειν.



## DISSERTATION X.

*Inscriptions at Herculaneum ;—at Stabiæ ;—Excavations at Pompeii ;—  
Inscription there ;—Subject of Pictures at Herculaneum.*

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BY ROBERT WALPOLE.

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AMONG other things in the head-piece to Plate IX. Tom. 2, of the Herculanean collection, is a papyrus half opened with some Latin words on it. In the first line is *quisquis*, in the last is *cura*, in the penultimate is *maxima*. The *q*, *u*, *r*, and *s* are in the *character minusculus*. As this character was used in writing Latin at this period, it may have been employed also in writing Greek : this circumstance will have weight with those who are strenuous advocates for the Greek inscription (the line from Euripides) mentioned in a former Dissertation, and which is written in the character above mentioned. In it the  $\epsilon$  and  $\omega$  have a near resemblance to the same letters in the names of the Muses in the Herculanean collection ; as ΚΑΞΙΚΩ ΙCΤΟΡΙΑΝ, ΘΑΛΞΙΑ ΚΩΜΟΔΙΑΝ, ΜΞΛΠΟΜΞΝΗ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑΝ, ΤΞΡΨΙΧΟΡΗ ΛΥΡΑΝ, ΞΡΑΤΩ +ΑΛΤΡΙΑΝ, ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ ΜΥΘΟΥC, ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗ ΠΟΙΗΜΑ. The  $\epsilon$  and  $\omega$  in this form are in one of the Ancyra inscriptions given by Montfaucon, p. 161. Pal. of the date of M. Aur. Antoninus ; and it is singular, that the  $\epsilon$  in this form should have been but sparingly used by the Latins before the fifth century ; (see Zicoroni on the seal of lead, with the words VTΞRΞ FELIX on it) the Ψ of the form +, I find in an inscription given by Odericus, p. 181, in ΕΥ+ΥΧΙΝ.

The Greeks and Romans thus appear to have had, in the time of

Augustus, or rather later, two sorts of characters, the great and the small; the capital letters, and those which were not; the former used in public works, and employed by those who were writing with a view to neatness and beauty; the latter being in a current hand, and formed with less attention to care and study.

It does not appear, that the words found in the Latin papyrus in the head-piece, or in any Latin inscription discovered at Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiæ, were accented. Yet accents were certainly used, and not unfrequently, in public monuments at this time, and earlier. I shall give a sufficient proof of this in the Pisan inscriptions of the age of Augustus, which are illustrated so ably by Noris, and shall add some of his remarks. I shall first premise, that when I said, in a former Dissertation, that no accents were seen in the Greek manuscripts found at Herculaneum, I only spoke to what I knew myself; for I find that Michaelis, in his great work, translated by Professor Marsh, Vol. II. p. 523, in a note, has these words: “*There are accents in some of the MSS. which have been discovered at Herculaneum. See Hivii Libellus criticus de codice Lambeniano.*” This fact deserves attention, and those who are able to examine the manuscripts in Italy, will do well to endeavour to ascertain the full extent of the remark.

Vossius, in his dogmatical manner, thus decides on the subject of accents: “*Quam recens ea sit consuetudo apponendi accentus! de Latinis satis apertum ex lapidibus antiquis; quo enim vetustiores eo magis accentuunculis carent. Lapidēs aliquos objectant, ubi reperiantur; sed imperitè adeo sculptos, ut satis liqueat nullam eorum rationem haberi oportere.*” Unluckily, the Pisan inscriptions are directly opposed to him, and disprove his assertion. How can that be called “*recens consuetudo*” of affixing accents, when the inscriptions which have them are of the Augustan age? It should be considered moreover, that many inscriptions on stones have accents, which are copied without them. Manutius gives the epitaph of Telephus accented; Gruter has given

the same without accents, p. 709; Gorius, in his collection, has published some accented.

I shall now give some of the words in the Pisan inscriptions, as they are accented. There are three sorts of marks in them; "*primus, Græcum accentum acutum refert, secundum gravem, tertius lenem aspirationem, hoc modo*," Gorius:

*Pecunia*, on the ultimate and antepenultimate.

*Privatis*, on the penult.

*Manibus*, on the antepen.

*Magistratus*, on the ultim.

*Bos-que*

*Atri* with the lenis, over the first syllable.

The above are on the inscription belonging to Lucius; the following are on that relating to Caius:

*Luctu*, on the penult.

*Casu*, grave on the ultim. and lenis on the first.

*Manibus*, on the antepen.

*Colonia*, on the ultim.

*Jussu*, on the ultim.

*Magistratus*, on the penultim.

The accent on *jussu* may appear at first to be wrongly placed; for, says Donatus, in *Latinis nunquam acutus accentus in ultimis syllabis poni potest*. But, according to the opinion of Noris, the accent was placed to distinguish *jussu*, the ablative case, from the passive of the preterite, as they used to write *jussu'*, for *jussus*; as in Ennius, *lassu' dici*. In Cicero's time, this manner was thought to be *subrusticum*.

The Pisan inscriptions, in one point of view, are deserving of attention; they prove, in the Augustan age, a strict regard to the laws of accentuation; that accents were not confined to the schools, and the grammarians, who used them in teaching foreigners the language; and the fact mentioned by Michaelis, concerning the Greek

MSS. shews the same with respect to the use of Greek accents, before the time of Titus.

It cannot be said, that the Roman lapidaries inserted these marks in the inscriptions erroneously or vaguely. They are placed according to the strictest rules laid down on the subject; and it should always be observed, that a public monument of the time of Augustus, as far as orthography is concerned, is likely to be very correct; as we know from Suetonius, that whenever the colonies were to send any public decrees to Augustus, they were framed by the most learned citizens, that nothing might offend the eyes of the emperor, who was known to be a severe observer and examiner of the words. We are told by Tiro (Gellius, Lib. 10), Cicero's freedman, that Pompey debated concerning an inscription in which his third consulship was mentioned, whether he should say *Consulem tertio*, or *tertium*. Cicero told him, in order to avoid ambiguity, to write TERT.

I shall conclude this subject with remarking, that Noris did not publish the Pisan inscriptions with sufficient accuracy. Gorius has corrected him, and he was, as he says, an *ἀντόπτης*; he examined them most minutely; he says, that there are many more words accented, than either Cellarius or Fabrettus have given.

Capacio has published some Latin inscriptions which were found at Herculaneum, without any comments on them. I shall point out what appears to be worthy of notice in them.

In the first inscription, we have *devitum* for *debitum*. I find the changes of B and V very common in the early Christian inscriptions, as BIXI Γ for *vixit*; BIRGO for *virgo*.

In the second, mention is made of a school and a chalcidicum, the rights of the municipium; and the opposition to those who used false weights, "*ut vitiiis ponderum occurrerint*." The chalcidicum here seems to be an ambulatory, or a place of meeting for the merchants. The word is used sometimes for a supper room, as in Arnobius; and sometimes, according to Isidorus, it is a balcony, called by the Greeks

στῆθαιον, and by the Latins, *mænianum* also; whence the Italian *mignano*.

The inscription is in honour of the family of Memnius Rufus. The words *agi*, *ambitioni*, *vitiis*, are written *agei*, *ambitionei*, *viteis*. In Greek, the use of *ει* for *η* and *ι*, was so common, that Salmasius thence inferred, that the two former were pronounced as *ιωτα*. I may add, that the modern Greeks confound them, and the *υ* also with them. There is no perceptible difference to the ear, between the *ει* in *εικοσι*, the *υ* in *κρυος*, the *ι* in *φιλος*, and the *η* in *ημερα*. As an instance of the ancient permutation of *η* and *ι*, I give the following inscription from Gruter, p. 701.

ΦΛΩΠΙΟC ONHCI  
MIANOC TEKNΩ EI  
ΔΙΩ ΙΟΥΑΙΑΝΩ ΕΠ  
ΟΙΗCΑ . MNHMH  
C EINEKEN . ΕΤΥΤ  
ΧΙ TEKNON ΟΥΔΙC Α  
ΘΑΝΑΤΟC.

“ I Florius Onesimianus have made this for my son Julianus, for the sake of remembrance. Be of good cheer, son; no one is immortal.”

When we meet with *μνημην ανεθηκε*, we should translate the words, *memoriam posuit*; *memoria* meaning *sepulchralis inscriptio*; and *μνημη*, being the same as *επιγραφη*. Servius, quoted by Kircher de *Sun. Rom. L. 3*, says, *Locus, ustrina dici solet; operis consumatio, sepulcrum; inscriptum nomen, memoria et monumentum*.

The third inscription is mutilated in three lines; in the last is *AVGVSTALIB. DATVM*. The Augustales were priests, not magistrates, as Reinesius supposed; their duty was to attend to sacred matters.

The fourth is a brazen tablet, on which are inscribed laws for the regulation of the sale and purchase of houses. In it are the initials

Q. D. E. R. F. P. D. E. R. I. C. meaning, *Quod de ea re fieri placuit, de ea re ita censuerunt*. The words *sed* and *exemplo*, are written SET, EXSEMPLO.

The following is an inscription on a horse of bronze found at Herculaneum :

EX QUADRIGA AENEA  
 SPLENDIDISSIMA  
 CVM SVIS IVGALIBVS  
 COMMIVTA AC DISSIPATA  
 SVPERSTES ECCE EGO VNVS  
 RESTO  
 NONNISI REGIA CVRA  
 REPOSITIS APTE SEXCENTIS  
 IN QVAE VESVVIVS ME  
 ABSVRTI INSTAR  
 DISCERPSE RAT  
 MEMBRIS.

These chariots, whether of marble or bronze, were generally parts of triumphal arches. On the arch of triumph erected on the bridge over the Tiber to the Emperor Augustus was a statue of bronze, borne on a chariot drawn by four horses. The arch erected to Trajan at Ancona was adorned by a figure drawn in a car, as before. "*In ejus medio noscitur arcus ejus sublimis, quadrigis et trophæis in fastigio onustus, a S. P. Q. R. in ejus beneficii memoriam Trajano ibidem erectus.*" Cyprianus Eichovius, quoted by Bergier.

Capacio has also given some inscriptions from Stabiæ (Castell à mare) ; such are the following :

D. M.

CAECILIAE LIBERALI CONIVGI PRAESTANTISSIMAE  
 AC DE SE BENEMERITAE  
 Q. CRANAVS EPAPHRODITVS.

The learned reader will decide, if he is able, on the truth of Mazzochi's assertion, who says, that the word *bene-merentis* alone, found on a sepulchral monument, declares it to belong to a Christian (de Hil. Epi.). The words *bene-merentis in pace* do indeed refer to a Christian tomb; they are, as Lupus expresses it, part of a *formula liturgica*, in *pace te suscipiat Christus*. This form is given occasionally in Hebrew, as in an inscription which I copy from Zircoroni:

εὐθαδὲ κείηαι Φανστῖνα.

יְהוָה

Now this is evidently the word  $\text{פֶּאֶךְ}$  *pax*, with the final *mem* obliterated.

Capacio gives one in Greek, which is one of consequence, as it tends to fix the site of the ancient Stabiæ; it mentions the suburbs and port which were built by the senators of Stabiæ. *Diphilus finished the work in five years*, says the inscription, *a slow architect, but quick when commanded*; καῖτοι βραδὺς ἀρχιτεκτων πρὸς προσταγμὰ ὁμῶς ταχὺς.

It is surprising, that the site of Stabiæ should have been so much disputed; among other circumstances which point it out, the following topographical remarks of Galen deserve attention. “Stabiæ is by the sea in the recess of the gulph, betwixt Surrentum and Naples; on that side rather towards Surrentum. All that side is a good sized hill, long, running out into the Tuscan sea. It is gently bent towards the west, and does not stretch itself exactly to the south. This hill keeps the gulf shut up against the winds which blow from the south-east, the east, and the north. With this, in the depth of the gulf, another hill joins itself, not a small one, which the ancients in their histories, and the more accurate of the moderns, name Vesuvius. The celebrated and new name of it is Vesvius, known to all on account of the fire, which in it is sent up from the earth below.” Τὸ δὲ χωρίον αὐτὸ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ αἱ Ταβιαὶ κατὰ τὸν πυθμὲνα τοῦ κολπου μάλιστα ἐστὶ, τοῦ μεταξὺ Σουρεντοῦ τε καὶ Νεαπόλεως, ἐν τῇ πλευρᾷ μᾶλλον τῇ κατὰ Σουρεντόν. ἡ αὕτη δ' ἡ πλευρὰ πᾶσα λόφος ἐστὶν εὐμεγέθης, μακρὸς, εἰς τὸ

Τυρρηνὸν ἐξήκων πέλαγος. ἐκέκλιται δ' ἡρέμα πρὸς τὴν ὕσιν ὁ λόφος ὕτος· οὐκ ἀκριβῶς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἐκτέταται· ὕτος μὲν ὁ λόφος ἀκλειστον τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς ἀνέμοις φυλάττει τὸν κόλπον, "Ευρω, καὶ Ἀπηλῖωτη, καὶ βορρᾶ· συνάπτει δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν μυχὸν τοῦ κόλπου λόφος ἕτερος οὐ μικρὸς, ὃν ἐν τε τοῖς συγγράμμασιν οἱ παλαιοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τῶν νῦν οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι Βεσούβιον ὀνομάζουσι· τὸ δ' ἐνδοξόν τε καὶ νέον ὄνομα τοῦ λόφου, Βέσβιον ἅπαντες ἀνθρώποις γινώσκον, διὰ τὸ κάτωθεν ἀναφερόμενον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐν αὐτῷ πύρ.  
Θερ. Μεθ. ε.

None of the discoveries made at Pompeii is so interesting, as that of the chapel of Isis. An interior view of it is given in Sir William Hamilton's account of the excavations. Over the great gate of the chapel was the following inscription, now at Portici :

N. POPIDIVS N. F. CELSINVS  
AEDEM ISIDIS TERRAE MOTV CONLAPSAM  
A FVNDAMENTO P. SVA RESTITVIT.  
HVNC DECVRIONES OB LIBERALITATEM  
CVM ESSET ANNORVM SEX. ORDINI SVO  
GRATIS ADLEGERVNT.

The Decuriones in the colonies, answered to the situation of senators at Rome. See Tacitus, Lib. XIII. Theodosius, Lib. LXXXV. *de Decur;* forbids *Decurionem (et si sic dici oportet) curiæ senatorem plumbatarum ictibus subdi.* To be a Decurio, it was necessary to have a certain sum of money; the quantity is specified by Pliny (Lib. I. epist. 19): *Esse autem tibi centum millium censum satis indicat quod apud nos decurio es.* There was this difference in the titles of the senators at Rome and the Decuriones; the former were called *Patres Conscripti*, the latter *Conscripti*. See Gruter, page 443, 456.

When the people wished to erect a statue, or dedicate an inscription to any benefactor, the place for the public monument was granted



by the Decuriones. Hence we see often, L. D. D. D. *Locus datus decreto Decurionum*.

The reader will observe the word *ædem* in the inscription. The Augurs having marked out the spot for the temple, sanctified it by certain ceremonies, called *Augurea, sive Inaugurationes*. Without these, a sacred house was not a temple, but was called *ædem*: *Templum enim post consecrationem inaugurabatur; ædes vero non item*. Gellius, Lib. XIV. Varro's words are, *Nōn omnes ædes sacras templa esse; sed illa tantum quæ sint augurio constituta*.

In a niche of the temple of Isis was found a marble statue of a female, with her fore-finger on her lip. (See Sir Wm. Hamilton's account of Pompeii). I give the following passage from Varro, which shews that a statue of this kind was always seen in temples of Isis: "*Quoniam in omnibus templis ubi Isis et Serapis colebatur, erat etiam simulacrum quod digito labiis impresso admonere videbatur ut silentia fierent*." See August. de Civ. Dei, Lib. XVIII. c. v. The *digitus* above is the fore-finger; "*at ille digitum a pollice proximum ori suo admovent et in stuporem attonitus, tace, tace, inquit*." Apul. Met. Lib. I.

"The walls of the cloisters of the temple were beautifully ornamented with arabesque paintings; and the rooms of many of the houses at Pompeii were enriched with elegant paintings in arabesque compartments, and many of the floors were of tesserated mosaic." (See Sir Wm. Hamilton.) We do not, however, see at Pompeii any of those marks of luxury and extravagance in the furnishing of the houses, which the opulent of Rome displayed. Not content with inserting in the walls pieces of marble of the most beautiful kind, they also had them painted and varied with different colours. This custom commenced under Claudius; under Nero they began to cover the marble with gold. Thus the marble of Numidia was gilded; that of Phrygia was stained with purple, "*ut ovatus esset Numidicus, ut purpura distingueretur Synnadicus*." Plin. Lib. XXXV. c. 1. This explanation of *ovatus* I have taken from Bergier, who has brought

together some curious passages on the manner of ornamenting the houses of the ancient Romans. The mode of staining marble was so perfect, that the dyers of Lacedemon and Tyre were envious of the purple lustre which the marbles exhibited. (*Stat. Syl. in Epith. Stell. et Viol.*) The house of Violantilla was adorned with Libyan and Phrygian stone, and the green marble of Laconia (called by us *verd-antique*):

*Hic Libycus, Phrygiusque silex, hic dura Laconum*  
*Saxa virent. Stat.*

Pieces of solid gold, called *crassum aurum*, and of the same metal beaten out, called *bractea*, were attached to the beams and different parts of the house. Some women, says Seneca, had baths paved with pure silver; they placed their feet on the same kind of metal in which their food was served up; *Videret hæc Fabricius, et stratas argento mulierum balneas.*—We are arrived, he says, *Epist. 87, Lib. XIII.* at such a height of luxury, that we are unwilling to tread but on precious stones; *Eo deliciarum pervenimus, ut nisi gemmas calcare nolumus.* Such and other traits of splendid folly and extravagance are mentioned in the description which Statius gives of the country-house of Manlius Vopiscus; see *Sylv. L. I. in Tibur. Man. Vopisci.* Bergier closes his remarks with the following beautiful passage of Seneca, in which the idle vanity of those who thus abused their wealth is censured.

“What difference is there between us and children, except that we are mad about pictures and statues, indulging our folly at a greater expense? They are pleased with smooth pebbles found on the shore, and having some little variety in them; we are delighted with large spotted columns, brought either from the sands of Egypt or the deserts of Africa, to support some portico, or supper-room capable of holding a great crowd. We gaze with wonder on walls which are covered over with pieces of fine marble, while we know

of what little value that is which is hidden by them. We put a fraud upon our own eyes; and while we clothe our wainscots with gold, what else are we doing than taking pleasure in a lie! We know that it is but vile wood which is concealed under this gold."

"*Quid inter pueros et nos interest, nisi quod nos circa tabulas et statuas insanimus, carius inepti? Illos reperti in litore calculi læves, et aliquid habentes varietatis delectant. Nos ingentium maculæ columnarum, sive ex Ægyptiis arenis, sive ex Africæ solitudinibus advectæ, porticum aliquam, vel capacem populi cœnationem ferunt. Miramur parietes tenui marmore inductos, cum sciamus, quale sit, quod absconditur; oculis nostris imponimus; et cum auro tecta perfundimus, quid aliud, quam mendacio gaudeamus? scimus enim sub illo auro fœda ligna latitare.*" Epist. 115.

There are many altars of different sizes and shapes in and about the temple of Isis. Their form is generally square or cubical. These were the forms commonly in use; the more ancient were those which were called Ionic altars. Their form is described by Nicomachus Geras. Lib. XI. *Arithmet.* The altar of Dosiadas is that which will give the reader a correct notion of the Ionic altar. I shall insert it here, with a literal translation; for the sake particularly of observing a circumstance in it, which escaped the learned Salmasius in his commentary on it, in which he has so ably endeavoured to explain a composition, the obscurity of which is noticed by Lucian, and is put by him, on the score of difficulty, on a level with the Alexandra of Lycophron. See the *Lexiph.*

## ΔΩΣΙΑΔΑ ΒΩΜΟΣ.

Ὀλὸς οὐ με λιβρὸς ἱρῶν,  
 Λιβάρδεσσιν ὅια κάλχην  
 Ὑπὸ φοινίῃσι τέγγει·  
 Μάυλιες δ' ὕπερθε πετρῶν Ναξίων θοούμεναι  
 Παμμάτων φίδοιτο Πανὸς· οὐ στρεβίλῳ λιγνύϊ  
 Ἰξὸς εὐώδης μελαίνειν τρεχνέων με Νυσίων.  
 Ἐς γὰρ βαμὸν ὄψῃς με μήτε γ' αὐρῶ  
 Πλίνθοις, μητ' Ἀλύβης πάγεντα βώλοισ·  
 Οὐδ' ὃν Κυνογενὴς ἔτευξε φύτλη  
 Λαβῶν τὰ μεκάδων κέρα  
 Λισσαῖσιν ἀμφὶ δειράσιν  
 Ὅσσαι νέμονται Κυνθίας  
 Ἰσὸρροπος πέλοιτό μοι·  
 Σὺν οὐρανῷ γὰρ ἐκγόνοις  
 Εἰνάς μ' ἔτευξε γηγενής·  
 Τάων δ' αἰίζων τέχνην  
 Ἐνευσε πάλμυς ἀφθίτων.  
 Σὺ δ' ὦ πῶν κρήνηθεν ἦν  
 Ἴνις κόλαιψε Γοργόνος  
 Θύοις τ' ἐπισπένδοις τέ μοι  
 Τμηττιαδᾶν πολὺ λαροτέρην  
 Σπονδὴν ἄδην ἰθὶ δὴ θαρσέων  
 Ἐς ἐμὴν τεύξιν· καθαρὸς γὰρ ἐγὼ  
 Ἰὸν ἱεντων τεράων· ὅια κέκευθ' ἐκεῖνος  
 Ἀμφὶ Νέαις Θρηϊκίαις ὃν σχεδὸθεν Μυρίνης  
 Σοι, Τριπάτορ, πορφυρέου φῶρ ἀνέθηκε κριῖου.

“ The dark blood of victims does not stain me, as a garment which is dyed with the deep hue of purple. May instruments, sharpened on whetstones from Naxos, abstain from slaying victims on me. The fragrant viscous humour (frankincense) flowing from trees of Arabia does not defile me with its tortuous vapour. You gaze on me an altar not constructed with plinths of gold, or heaps of silver; nor is that altar which Apollo made in Delos, by taking together the horns of the goats which browse on the lofty hills there, to be compared to me. In unison with (the Graces) the daughters of heaven, the nine muses, sprung from *cælum* and *terra*, formed me; whose imperishable art was granted to them by Jupiter, the ruler of the immortals. But thou, who quaffest from the fountain, which Pegasus the son of Gorgon struck out, mayst thou sacrifice and pour out libations more agreeable to me, than honey from Hymettus; approach hither with confidence; for I am free from serpents that emit poison, such as that altar concealed which is built in the Thracian Nææ, and which the bearer away of the golden fleece dedicated to thee, O Minerva, near Myrinna.”

The different measures, as they occur in order in the poem of Dosiadas, are these; iambic, trochaic, antispastic, iambic, anapæstic, choriambic. In the fifth line I have adopted the alteration of Salmasius in the optative *φίδονται*, instead of *φείδονται*, which is against the metre. The verse still seems to want some correction.

In the seventh line, *ταγχύουρον* followed the word *μητε*. The metre, which is antispastic, was thus destroyed. Salmasius proposes the alteration which I have given in the text. The scholiast, whose name is not given by Salmasius, but who is called Holobolus, says, that *ταγχούρου* means, in Persian, *gold*. Cosmas Indico-pleustes says, that *ταγχάα*, in the language of the Axumites, is *gold*. But neither of these words will help the verse.

In the Epistol. La Croisianæ, is a remark which escaped Salmasius, the initials of the lines of the above poem give the acrostich, Ὀλύμπιε πολλοῖς ἔτεσι θυσείας; perhaps Olympius was a poet, and is the person who is addressed in the verse 18.

In the quarters of the soldiers at Pompeii, were found several helmets and pieces of armour for the arms, thighs, and legs; but none for the breast. *Sir Wm. Hamilton.*

Probably the defence for the breast being made of linen, as was the custom, might be destroyed. The λινόθώρακες of the Homeric ages were preferred to those made of metal, on account of their being light and easy to the wearer. Iphicrates, we are told by Cornelius Nepos, changed the breast-plates of iron and brass into those of linen. Caracalla instituted a Macedonian phalanx in honour of Alexander the Great; and the soldiers wore the *thorax* of linen. *Dion.* Alexander himself wore one of the same substance. *Plutarch.* We may have some conception of the strength and firmness of some of these defences for the breast, from the following passage of Nicetas Choniates. *Rerum Isaaci Arg.* “He was then fighting without a shield; but had put on for a covering for his breast, a texture of linen, well moistened with sour wine and salt, and frequently folded over. And so well could it resist blows, in consequence of being thus forced firmly together with wine and salt, that it was impenetrable to every weapon. More than eighteen folds of this texture were counted.” Ἀυτὸς μέντοι ἀνευ θυρέου τηνικαῦτα διηγωνίζετο ἐκ δὲ λίνου πεπονημένον ὕφασμα ὦν αὐστηρῶ ἱκανῶς ἠλισμένῳ διάβροχον, πολλάκις περιπτυχθέν, δίκην θώρακος ἐνεδύετο. Ἐἰς τοσούτον δ' ἦν ἀντιτυπες ἀλσὶ, καὶ ὦνω συμπιληθέν, ὡς καὶ βέλους εἶναι παντὸς στεγανώτερον. Ἡριθμῶντο δ' εἰς ὀκτωκαίδεκα καὶ πλείω ὕφασματος συμπτύγματα.

The subject of some of the Herculanean pictures will give us room to make a few observations, which have been omitted by the authors of the magnificent work, the *Antichità d'Ercolano*.

Tom. I. p. 1. In the corner of this picture are these words:

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΕΝ. There is a similar affectation of an archaism, in forming the *sigma*, in an inscription which I copied at Thessalonica, with Captain Leake, in the garden of the bishop.

ΛΕΟΝΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΟΙΣ ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ  
ΖΤΡΑΤΟΝΕΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΑΥΤΩΙ.

Tom. I. p. 38. This picture represents a round altar, about which is twisted a serpent; in the corner of it, near the serpent, is this inscription; *Genius hujus loci Montis*. On the other side of the altar is a youth crowned with leaves, with a branch in his right hand, and putting up to his mouth a finger of his left. In the notes to this Plate, much learning is displayed, and a great variety of conjecture employed. The following appears to be the true explanation of the subject.

The salubrity of Herculaneum, and the immediate neighbourhood of Vesuvius, was much celebrated by the ancients. Strabo says, that Herculaneum, from its situation relatively to the south-west wind, was “a healthy place of residence:” ὕγιεινὴν ποιεῖν τὴν κατοικίαν. Galen speaks of the dryness of the air round Vesuvius. Θερ. Μεθ. ε. Procopius says, that those who were dying of consumptions were sent there for their health: ἐς τοῦτο ἀμελεῖ τοὺς φθογὰς ἀλόντας ἐκ τῶν ἀνωθεν χρόνων ἰατροὶ πεμπόουσιν. *Bell. Goth.* c. iv. The serpent round the altar need not detain us; the figure of the youth with the lotus on his head (which circumstance is not mentioned by the annotators), and his finger to his mouth, is Harpocrates. The annotators stop there. Now Harpocrates is the sun; see *Cuper. Harp.* p. 12. The subject of the picture then is this; the genius of the mountain is the presiding deity; the altar is erected to him; the serpent (in allusion to Æsculapius), and the figure of Harpocrates, or the sun, are indicative of the healthiness of the place.

At the end of the first volume of the Herculanean collection are some drawings, the subjects of which are architectural. The artists

seem to have indulged their fancy, and disregarded all rule. There are Ionic columns without bases, and Ionic columns supporting a roof and entablature of the Doric order, as appears by a species of triglyph and the modillions that are upon it. While the editors of this work attempt to explain some passages of Vitruvius, they leave untouched that passage in Euripides, which is clouded with so much difficulty, from our ignorance of ancient architecture. The passage I allude to is in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. The commentators on this poet pass the passage by, as if they understood it. Orestes and Pylades are debating in this play, at the part alluded to, on the means of entering the temple of Diana, to take away the statue of that goddess. Pylades tells his friend “to put his body in between the triglyphs, into that part where there is a vacant space:”

Ὅρα δὲ γ' εἴσω τριγλύφων, ὅποι κενόν,  
Δέμας καθεῖναι. V. 113.

ὅποι κένον, *in quo loco vacuitas*, says d'Orville, *ad Char.*—Now, what was this vacant space between the triglyphs? Were the metopes of the frieze open; and why were they? for the purpose of giving light to the temple? or were the ancients, at the time Euripides may be supposed to refer to, ignorant of the mode of closing them up? These are the questions asked in the note to the last Paris edition of Winkelmann, Vol. II. p. 579. With regard to the grammatical construction of the passage, I shall propose that a stop be put after the particle γε; and that it be read thus, ὄρα δὲ γ', *but mind*; and that δεῖ, or some such word, be understood with reference to καθεῖναι; or the infinitive be used as imperative. “*You must put your body between the triglyphs.*” Brunck, whose ears could bear the crasis of ἀλλ' εὐτὸν, for ἀλλ' εἰ αὐτόν (see *Soph. Œdi. Coll.* 1192) might have suggested δεῖμας for δεῖ ἡμᾶς in the passage above; but such a license is not allowed by the Attic Muse.

In Plate XLIII. Tom. I. the pediment of the building represented



is very low and disproportionate. The pediment, called *τρίγωνον*, and *τριγώνιον*, was also, as is well known, called *αέτος*. The reason of which latter name is mentioned by Eustathius in his Commentary on Iliad Ω; and by Galen in a passage which I shall transcribe. It was given, before Salmasius corrected it, in a corrupt manner; and it may be easily understood by a reference to the plate in question. The passage is to be found in Galen's commentary on the treatise of Hippocrates *περι ἀρθρῶν*. Vol. XI. p. 376. Edit. Paris.

“ The tower is called *τύρσις*, and the highest part of the building *αέτωμα*; for thus they name the part of the roof which is raised up in the form of a triangle. If a man wishes to make a projecting terrace, instead of tiling it, he will make the roof flat, without any pediment. When he puts tiles on, he shews his intention to be, that the rain water should run off easily. According to this then, the middle of the roof will be raised high, extending all the length from the hinder to the fore part of the building; it is then brought down gently inclining on both sides, nearly in the form of the wings of a bird, hanging down from the body; for, according to this resemblance, the ancients appear to have called this part of the building *αέτον* and *αέτωμα*.”

Τύρσιν μὲν τὸν πύργον ἀκούειν χρή, οἴκου δ' αέτωμα τὸ ὑψηλότατον μέρος. οὕτω γὰρ ονομάζουσι τὰς εἰς ὕψος ἀνατάσεις τῆς ὀροφῆς τριγωνοειδεῖς. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡλιασκτήριον ποιήσει τις, ἀντὶ κεράμου ποιήσει τὴν ὀροφὴν ἐπίπεδον οὐκ αέτωμα ἔχουσαν· κεραμον δ' ἐπιτίθεις εὐαπόρρυστον αὐτῇ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὀμβριον εἶναι βούλεται. κατὰ τοῦτοι οὖν ὑψηλὸν ἐργάζεται τὸ μέσον τῆς ὀροφῆς κατὰ τὸ μήκος ἐκ τῶν ἐπίσω πρὸς τὸ πρόσω τεταμένον· οὕτω γὰρ ἐφ' ἑκατέραν τῶν πλαγίων καταγεί τὴν ὀροφὴν ταπεινῶς ἡμένην, ὥσπερ τίνας δὲ πτέρυγας καθεμένας. οὕτω γὰρ εἰκάσιν εἰκάσαντες οἱ παλαιοὶ καλεῖσαι τὸ τοῦ οἰκίας τὸ μέρος, αέτον καὶ αέτωμα.

In their remarks on the architectural drawings at the end of the first volume, the editors endeavour to explain the word *harpaginetuli*, which occurs in Vitruvius, and which I ventured to translate in a former Dissertation, in a sense different from that which is given by

the editors. The word is very obscure; Philander does not attempt to expound it; Cesar Cæsarianus gives many readings; but none help us much.

Pl. LIX and LX. Tom. II. represent sacrifices and ceremonies in honour of Isis. Almost all those who are present at them are drawn with their heads uncovered and bald; *capite deglabrato*, as Lac. Firmianus says (Lib. I.) speaking of this custom of the priests of Isis. We shall be content with quoting the words of Jerome on the prophet Ezekiel, c. xiii. "*Perspicue demonstratur, rasis capitibus sicut sacerdotes cultoresque Isidis ac Serapidis nos esse non debere.*" The time of the first introduction of the sacred rites of Isis into Rome is thus given by Bacchinus: "*Isidis mihi sacra una cum amicitia regum Ægyptiacorum in urbem migrasse videntur, quo tempore Ptolemæus Philopator Senatui, P. Q. R. tutelam filii moriens commisit.*" Some asserted in the time of Spartianus that they came in at a later period: "*mihi mirum videtur quemadmodum sacra Isidis per hunc (Caracallam) Romam venisse dicantur, cum Antoninus Commodus ita ex celebraverit, ut Anubim portaret et pausas ederet.*" The *pausæ* were resting places for the procession. See *Salma. ad Spar.* p. 166.

Some of the figures in the plates we are considering, hold in their hands *sistra*. The *sistrum* was, as Salmasius observes, of the form of a racket; it was of copper; holes were pierced through it, in which were put small rods of the same metal; the instrument when shaken made a noise like that of castanets. The *sistrum* had often four rods; in the plates above, there are no more than three.

Those who are conversant with the symbolical language of Egypt, find in the four bars or rods, an allusion to the four elementary principles and their harmonious arrangement; concerning which the author *de recipiendis Manichæis*, uses these beautiful expressions, addressing himself to the deity: *σὺ ἐκ τεσσάρων στοιχείων τὴν κτίσιν συναρμόσας τετράσιν καιροῖς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐστεφανώσας.* "Thou arranging the creation from the four elements, hast crowned the circle of

the year with four seasons." Tollius thinks that when the bars are three in number, an allusion is made to the elements of fire, water, air: and that the sistrum itself signifies the earth. It is not, however, improbable, that a reference may be made to the three seasons of the year; for into so many parts, as well as into four, was the year divided: hence the Hours were three; Minerva, by which is meant the air, was called, says Diodorus, Τριτογένεια, because she underwent changes three times in the year, in spring, summer, and winter. Osiris and Isis (the sun and moon), says the same author, were thought by the Egyptians to govern the whole world, nourishing and increasing every thing in the three seasons of the year, the spring, the summer, and the winter, which perform their revolutions with a motion invisible: τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον διοικεῖν, τρεφοντάς τε καὶ αὐξόντας πάντα τριμερέσιν ὥραις ἀοράτῳ κινήσει τὴν περίοδον ἀπαρτιζούσαις, τῇ τε ἁρρινῇ, καὶ θερινῇ, καὶ χειμερινῇ. The lyre of Mercury had three chords referring to the same division of the year; "he invented the lyre, which he made with three chords in imitation of the three seasons of the year:" λύραν τε εὔρειν, ἣν ποιῆσαι τρίχορδον μιμησάμενον τὰς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὥρας. *Diod. Lib. I.* This instrument also refers to the harmonious arrangement of the heavenly bodies. The heavens, says Ficinus, in his commentary on Plotinus (*Enn. 3, Lib. II.*), are, according to the Pythagoreans, the lyre of the deity. "The ancient philosophers, observes Plutarch from Timæus, placed in the hands of the statues of the gods musical instruments: not as wishing to ornament them with the lyre and flute, but as thinking that nothing was so much the business of the gods, as the harmony and arrangement of things." *De anim. proc.* This beautiful order, this "music of the spheres," is fancifully illustrated by Pythagoras; by Timæus in his dialogue περὶ φύχας κόσμῳ; by Plato in his explanation of it; and again by the commentators on him. (*See Tim. Pla. and Proclus on it, Lib. III. Brucker Phil. p. 1048. 1.*) Plutarch, when he makes mention of the less important notes and sounds of music; such, as the προσλαμβάνον-

μενος, the λιχανός, the παράμεσος, compares the distances of the planets with those of the above chords. (*De anim. creat.*) Aristides, in his third book on Music, has unfolded the same doctrine with Plato, and alludes to it in the animated address in the first book ; part of which I here give, from the corrected text of the learned Meibomius. “ Whom shall we first invoke as an assistant on this occasion ? shall we not call on Him, who has arranged all this visible world by means invisible, and who has framed, with such perfection, the whole soul according to harmonic proportions :—whether it be lawful to call him *Demiurgus*, aptly applying the name to him from the things which are his works ; or whether we should call him Pure Species, intimating that, from which men have derived their powers ; or whether we should address him by the title of Reason, or the One, as men of sublime understandings and wisdom have, or by any other name : manifesting, by the former appellation, that he arranges and beautifies all ; and by the latter, pointing out that he brings together and binds into one, by indissoluble chains, things many and different ; —Him, let us invoke and pray to, that he may afford us all necessary perception, and grant us all facility to speak in a manner worthy the subject proposed.”

τίνα πρῶτον συλλήπτουσα τῶν τηλικούτων προσήκει καλεῖν ; ἢ οὐχὶ τὸν ἅπαν μὲν τόδε τὸ ὁρώμενον ἀοράτοις τέχναις ἀρμολογούμενον· πᾶσαν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀρμονίας λόγοις τελεώτατα τεχνήσάμενον, εἴτε δημιουργὸν ὀνομάζειν θέμις, ἔξ ᾧ ἐργασται, καλῶς θεμένους τὴν προσηγορίαν, εἴτε εἶδος καλεῖν εὐαγές, ἔξ οὗ παρέσχε τοῖς μετ’ αὐτὸν δυνάμεις ἀνθρώποις σημαίνοντας, εἴτ’ οὖν λόγον, εἴθ’ ἐνάδα, ὡς ἀνδρες θεοὶ καὶ σοφοὶ λόγον ἐνιαῖον, εἴτ’ ἄλλως εὐρεῖν ἐστὶν ἐντυγχάνοντας· τῷ μὲν, ὡς πάντα ἀρμόττειν καὶ κατακοσμεῖν δηλοῦντας· τῷ δὲ ἐμφαίνοντας, ὡς πολλὰ τὰ ὄντα καὶ διαφερόμενα πᾶσας δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις ἐν ἐν συλλαβῶν ἔχει. τοῦτον δὲ καλῶμεν, καὶ εὐχόμεθα πᾶσαν μὲν ἡμῖν βεβαίαν κατάληψιν, ὑποσυγεῖν, πᾶσαν δὲ, τοῦ περὶ τῶν προκειμένων εἰπεῖν ἐπαξίως, ῥαστώνην προσενεῖν. p. 5. The λόγοι ἀρμονίας above, are those contained in the numbers 1 . 2 . 4 . 8 and 1 . 3 . 9 . 27. See the note of Meibomius on this passage.

Tom. II. Pl. XVII. Cassandra and Apollo are here represented. The annotators think that the subject is Apollo teaching her the art of prophecy. It rather appears to refer to the daughter of Priam rejecting the suit of that god. This circumstance, and the angry revenge of the god in causing all her prophecies to be disregarded, are mentioned twice by Cassandra in the poem of Lycophron :

τὴ μακρὰ τλήμων εἰς ἀνηκόους πέτρας  
εἰς κύμα κωφῶν, εἰς νάπας δυσπλήτιδας  
βάζω, κενὸν ψάλλουσα μάστακος κροτον ;  
πίστιν λόγων γὰρ Λεψιδεύς ἐνόσφισε,  
ψευδηγόροις φήμαισιν ἐγχρίσας ἔπη,  
καὶ θεσφάτων πρέμαντιν ἀψευδῇ φρόνιν  
λέκτρων στερηθεῖς, ὣν ἐκάλχαιεν τυχεῖν. V. 1451.

“ But why alas ! do I continue to address myself to the senseless rocks, the deaf waves, and sea-washed cliffs, pouring forth my useless strain ? since Apollo has deprived all my words of credit, casting false rumours upon my sayings, and my skill in the prophetic art, being denied admission to that bed, which he eagerly wished to possess.” See also v. 351. I have given in the translation to *δυσπλήτιδας*, the meaning which the scholiast gives ; it is explained by *δυσπροσίτους* in some manuscript remarks on the Basil edition of Lycophron, in the Public Library at Cambridge.

Tom. II. p. 24. The last degree of initiation, or the *ἐπόπτεια*, is alluded to in this picture. It would be “ *actum agere*” to say any thing on a subject which Meursius has almost exhausted ; but I shall give part of an inscription relative to the mysteries of Ceres, with some remarks. It was found at Eleusis, and is engraved in the Museum Worsleianum only.

ΟΥΚΕΜΥΗΣΑΔΕΓΩΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΗΣΤΕΚΝΑΛΗΔΗΣ  
 ΟΥΔΕΤΟΝΕΥΡΑΜΕΝΟΝ ΠΙΑΤΣΙΝΟΣΟΥΣΑΚΕΣΕΙΣ  
 ΟΥΔΕΤΟΝΕΥΡΥΣΘΗΔΥΩΔΕΚΑΠΑΝΤΑΣΑΘΕΟΛΟΥΣ  
 ΕΞΑΝΤΣΑΝΤΑΜΟΓΩΙΚΑΡΤΕΡΟΝΗΡΑΚΛΕΑ  
 ΤΟΝΧΘΟΝΟΣΕΥΡΥΧΟΡΟΥΔΕΚΑΙΑΤΡΥΓΕΤΗΣΜΕΔΕΟΝΤΑ  
 ΤΟΝΚΑΙΑΠΕΙΡΕΣΙΩΝΚΟΙΡΑΝΟΝΗΜΕΡΙΩΝ  
 ΑΣΠΕΤΟΝΟΣΙΑΣΑΙΣΠΛΟΤΤΟΝΚΑΤΕΧΕΥΕΠΟΛΕΣΣΙΝ  
 ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝΚΛΕΙΝΗΣΔΕΞΟΧΑΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΑΣ.

The priestess speaks :

“ I have not initiated the offspring of the Lacedæmonian Leda, nor him who invented the healing art, nor the valiant Hercules who laboriously performed all the twelve tasks imposed on him by Eurystheus ; but I have initiated the Ruler of the wide earth and sea ; the Sovereign of numberless mortals, Hadrian ; who has poured forth exhaustless wealth on many cities, but particularly on those of illustrious Athens.”

Salmasius contends, that Hadrian did not observe the usual intermediate gradations between the *μύησις* and *ἐπόπτευσις*, but *initia Cereris adiit, et eodem tempore sacrarium intimum ingressus est*. The same privilege was granted both to Demetrius and Marcus Antoninus. To this circumstance, in the life of Hadrian, I think the priestess alludes. It may be observed, that the words *μύησις* and *ἐπόπτευσις* are often confounded. See *Sal. ad Spar.* p. 32.

What is meant by the cities of Athens in the last line, may be understood from the following inscriptions, which are still to be seen at Athens. On an arch of the time of Hadrian, and on the front facing the Acropolis, is the following :

ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΘΗΝΑΙΘΗΣΕΩΣΗΠΡΙΝΠΟΛΙΣ

“ This is Athens, formerly the city of Theseus ;” on the front next to the Ilissus are these words :

## ΑΙΔΕΙΣ ΔΡΙΑΝΟΤ ΚΑΙ ΟΤΧΙΘΗΣ ΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ

“ This is the city of Adrian, and not of Theseus.”

Tom. I. p. 46. In this picture are represented some ships; their heads have either a human face, or some monstrous form painted on them. The annotators observe, that the *tutela* among the ancients was different from the *parasemon*; the last was at the prow, painted and carved; the *tutela* represented some god. But Potter says, that they have been taken one for the other, and perhaps sometimes the image of the god, or tutelar deity, might be represented on the *parasemon*. I think that we may infer this from a passage in Saint Luke, which I do not remember to have seen considered in this light. “ After three months, Saint Paul departed in a ship of Alexandria, which had wintered in the isle, whose sign (παρασσημον) was Castor and Pollux.” Acts, c. 28. Now a common title of these two deities was *ἑοὶ σωτῆρες*; to them as such was the Pharos of Alexandria dedicated in behalf of those who went to sea. (See Strabo, Lib. XVII.) In the character of deities ruling the sea, they are addressed by Horace, Lib. I. Od. 36. Catullus dedicates his vessel to them; they are the *ἑοὶ δύνατοι*, *ἑοὶ μεγάλοι*, *divi potes* (Varro, Lib. IV.); they are the *di magni* in Virgil. *Æn.* 8. It is probable, therefore, that here the *parasemon* gave the name to the ship, at the same time that the gods represented on it might be considered as the *tutela*. The inscriptions which Gorius gives, do not help us to ascertain the point; they mention the *parasema*, and nothing more; for instance, D. M. L. TERENTIO . SABINO III SALVTE, &c.; “ to Lucius Terentius Sabinus of the ship, the Safety;” the number before *salute* signifying TRIERE. See *Fabr. ad Col. Traj.*

But Herodotus says, “ that the Egyptians affirm that they know the names neither of Neptune, nor of Castor and Pollux; nor do they admit these gods among the number of their deities.” *Euterpe*. The historian and evangelist are thus reconciled; what Herodotus

said of the Egyptians in his time, respecting their attachment to their own, and dislike of the deities of other countries, might be true ; yet the fact was far different when they came under the empire of the Macedonians and Romans. Then, to use the words of the Emperor Hadrian, Egypt *ad omnia famæ momenta volitans fuit* ; the gods of Greece and Rome were introduced and worshipped ; the rulers of Egypt, Ptolemy, Berenice, Demetrius took the name of θεοί σωτῆρες ; and we find in the geographer Ptolemy, that a port in the red sea was called Διοσκόρων λίμνη. I shall conclude with a striking passage from Theophylact, in his Commentary on the words of St. Luke ; ἔθος γὰρ πῶς αἰεὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρίνων μάλιστα νᾶυσι πρὸς γὰρ τῆς πρώτης δεξιά καὶ εὐάνυμα γράφας εἶναι τοιάυτας, meaning those of Castor and Pollux. See the remarks of J. Haseus, *de navibus Alexandrinis*.

Before I close this Dissertation, I shall insert some remarks which may interest the reader, relating to the

#### DISCOVERIES AT HERCULANEUM,

written by persons who were competently informed of what was found at the first excavations in that city, about the middle of the last century. I refer to the Philosophical Transactions, for the years 1751, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756. To what they have said, I shall subjoin some observations.

A letter from Camillo Paderni, the keeper of the Museum at Portici, says, “ that the things in his charge, found at Herculaneum, consist, among others, of medals, intaglios, glass of all sorts, colours for painting.” In another letter, he mentions having found busts of bronze ; on one were the following words, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ. He describes “ a room, the floor of which is formed of mosaic work, not inelegant ; it appears to have been a library, adorned with presses, inlaid with different sorts of wood, disposed in rows, at the top of which were cornices. He was buried in that spot more than twelve days ; he took away three hundred



and thirty-seven manuscripts, all in Greek characters; there was also a bundle, consisting of eighteen volumes, wrapped round with bark of tree; they were in Latin."

A letter from a different person describes a chamber of a house in Herculaneum, where was found a great quantity of rolls, about half a palm long, and round; they appeared like roots of wood, all black, and seeming to be only of one piece; one of them falling on the ground, it broke in the middle, and many letters were observed, by which it was first known that the rolls were of papyrus. The number of these rolls were about one hundred and fifty, and of different sizes; they were in wooden cases, which are all so much burnt, as are all the things made of wood, that they cannot be recovered. He mentions the unrolling the philosophic tract on music, by Philodemus; this has since been edited and explained; probably, we think, with the assistance of the learned Mazzochi, the illustrator of the Heracleian Tables; to him, at least, we know that the manuscripts were taken. This manuscript had about sixty columns, each column had twenty lines, and every line was the third of a palm long.

The writer of the above letter says, there were Latin manuscripts, some of which were so voluminous, that, unrolled, they would take up an hundred palms. He adds a circumstance, which deserves to be noticed, that some of them were written in a running hand.

The rolls, such as the writer above has described, were called by the Latins not only *volumina*, as every one knows, but *scapi*; *σκάπος* in Hesychius, is *κλάδος*, a branch; thence a *staff*, and a *round piece of wood*. The Greeks called them *κανόνας* and *κανόνια*; *Suidas* in v. Hesychius says the name was *κανανίς* ἐμπήκτης ὁ καὶ τὰ δικαστικά γραμματίδια παρὰ τοῦ θεσμοφόρου λαμβάνων ὑπηρέτης, καὶ πῆσσαν εἰς τὴν κανονίδα. "ἐμπήκτης, is the servant who receives the judicial writings from the judge, and forms them into a roll." They were also called *τόμοι χαρτῶν*; the primitive signification, as *Salmasius* observes, of *τόμοι*, being the same as *σκάπος*, or *κλάδος*.

Camillo Paderni, in a letter gives a fac-simile of some words from a Latin manuscript found at Herculaneum. They differ much in their formation from those in the manuscript, which I quote from in the beginning of my last Dissertation; and which some have ascribed to Varius, as the author. It would be desirable that some one should give accurately alphabets of the Latin (as well as of the Greek letters), consulting the forms of them, as they vary in the Herculanean manuscripts; and, beginning with some given period of the Christian æra, ascend upwards to the time of the Duillian inscription, or that relating to L. Cor. Scipio, and his escape from the tempest in the Corsican seas. This last is of peculiar interest, both as a palæographical monument, and as illustrative of a passage in the Roman history, and of some lines in Ovid, which are otherwise very obscure. *Fast.* vi.—As the inscription is not long, I shall transcribe it here.

HONCOINO . PLOIRUME . COSENTIONT . R  
 DUONORO . OPTVMO . FVISE . VIRO  
 LVCIOM . SCIPTIONE . FILIOS . BARBATI  
 CONSOL . CENSOR . AIDILIS . HIC . FVET . A  
 HEC . CEPIT . CORSICA . ALERIAQVE . VRBE  
 DEDET . TEMPESTATEBVVS . AIDE . MERETO.

This modernised would read as follows;

*Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romæ  
 Bonorum optimum fuisse virum  
 Lucium Scipionem. Filius Barbati  
 Consul, Censor, Ædilis hic fuit.  
 Hic cepit Corsicam, Aleriamque urbem,  
 Dedit tempestatibus ædem merito.*

In the first line, *oino* is *uno*; in Greek *ὁνός* is *μόνος*. The word was chiefly in use among those who spoke the Ionic; thus, in the proverb, *ἡ τρεῖς ἕξ ἢ τρεῖς κύβοι*, that is, *eighteen or three*, the word *κύβος* means *unity*; and the people of Ionia, would, as we find from

Zenobius, say, ἡ τρεῖς ἔξ, ἡ τρεῖς ἔναι. Pollux says, ἡ γε μονὰς ἡ παρ' Ἰωσιν οἴνῃ. See *Salma, ad Vopis*. p. 472.

In the second line *Duonoro* is for *Bonorum*. Festus informs us that *Duonum* was used anciently for *Bonum*. *Duonus ceruses* in the *carmen Saliare*, means *Bonus est Creator*. The remaining peculiarities in the inscription may be seen stated clearly by the Jesuit Sirmond, in the folio edition of his works, vol. iv.; Selden also, *de Diis Syr.* and Salmasius on *Vopis*. p. 472, may be consulted.

To judge from what is said in some of the articles in the *Philosophical Transactions*, to which I have referred, the theatre at Herculaneum, when perfect, must have been very magnificent; the pavement was of beautiful different coloured marble; the pieces of cornices, mouldings, and carved work were very elegant: there were about twenty-five rows of seats, all of stone; it was probably more than sixty feet in diameter. This is not, however, equal to some theatres which I saw in Asia Minor; particularly those of Stratonice, Cnidus, and Nyssa. The writer of a letter in the *Philosophical Transactions* for the year 1751, says, “There were no dead bodies found in the theatre;” if this be true, how will the assertion stand of Dio, who says that the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii were destroyed while the people were sitting in the theatre; καὶ πρόσθετι καὶ πόλεις δύο ὅλας, τό τε Ἡerculάνιον, καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίους, ἐν θεάτρῳ τοῦ ὁμίλου καθημένους, κατέχωσε. Dio. l. 66. Besides, few skeletons have been found in other parts, and but a small quantity of riches, by which we should imagine, that the destruction was not very sudden.

In a street near the theatre were found two equestrian statues, erected in honour of the two Balbi, father and son; on the front of the pedestal of one, of excellent workmanship, was this inscription:

MNOMIOMF  
BALBO  
PR. PROCOS  
HERCVLANENSES.

In addition to these works in bronze, and the horse of the same metal, which is mentioned above, with the Latin inscription (written in a fanciful imitation of four Greek lines, quoted in Pausanias, on the same subject) were many other specimens of ancient art found; there was a bust of bronze, with eyes of white marble; boys of the same, with eyes of silver; a tripod of brass, supported by three satyrs; all executed in good taste.

Among the different things which were preserved in the apartments at Portici, was a whole loaf of bread burnt to a coal. It is covered with a glass bell, through which were seen the following letters on the bread. S ILIGO . C RANII  
E CISER

The first word is supposed to mean *fine flour*, of which the bread might be made, with the mixture of flour of vetch, signified by E CISER. This last conjecture is not so satisfactory as the first. The words RANII may be, I think, the name of the baker. It occurs in inscriptions. We know, that it was customary with workmen and tradesmen, and people of different professions, to put their names to that which was made by them. Thus at Aquileia, two brass pipes were found made by one Demetrius, with these words: O . AQ . DEMET . F . O. In the baths of Domitian was found a leaden tube with these letters AVTEIVS FORTVN . F. At Stabiæ, tiles were found with the makers names inscribed. On a lamp is seen <sup>ATTVSA.</sup>  
F See *Nicolaus de Siglis*, p. 288.

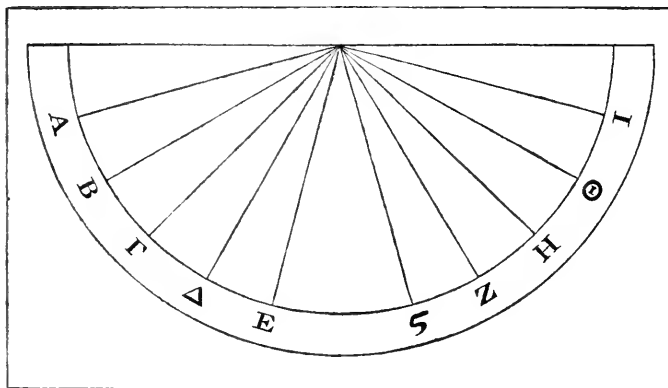
At Herculaneum was found, as they excavated, a bath; "It is of a circular form," says a writer in the 47th volume of the Philosophical Transactions, "and seems to have been made to contain water. Here were found some statues." One part of the bath was called *καλυμβήθερα*, or *βαπτιστήριον*; in Latin *natatio* and *piscina*; in this, which was built on the north side, persons bathed, and sometimes were able,

from the size of it, to swim. The baths of private individuals, as well as those of the public, were adorned with statues, mirrors, and marbles of different kinds. It was not before the reign of Augustus, that the public baths were built on that scale of splendour and extent, which the ruins of them at Rome still attest. Their magnitude was such, that Ammianus Marcellinus says they were *potius provinciarum instar, quam ullius ædificiî formâ*. The baths of Nero were supplied with salt, as well as fresh water; those of Caracalla were adorned with two hundred columns of marble, and furnished with sixteen hundred seats of the same.

Camillo Paderni dwells at length on the description of a sun-dial, which he found at Herculaneum, "which," says he, "ought to make much noise among the learned, and which I believe to be the only one of its kind in the world." I refer the reader to what he says, in Vol. 49 of the Philosophical Transactions. There are but few monuments of antiquity of this kind preserved; I can mention only two; one is a sun-dial, which is still remaining at Athens nearly in its original situation, placed on the rock of the Acropolis by the theatre of Bacchus. The other is to be seen also in Greece, at the ancient *Orchomenus*, now called *Scripou*; it deserves most particularly the attention of the learned reader. As it has been never mentioned in any work whatsoever, I shall describe it; and in as few words as is possible.

It is no longer in its original position; it is in the wall of a Greek church, is of white marble, of very considerable size; the letters on it, marking the hours, protrude in relief, and are as follows: A, B, Γ, Δ, E are the first five letters at equal distances; then comes a space equal to double the distance between any two of these letters. After this space follow the letters Σ, Ζ, Η, Θ, Ι, at equal distances. There is nothing to be seen which marked the meridian line. The

following is engraved from a drawing made on the spot by Doctor Clarke.



I shall conclude with citing the following epigram from the Anthologia, which was probably written on a dial of the above description :

Ἐξ ὥραι μόχθοις ἱκανώταται· αἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὰς,  
Γράμμασι δεικνύμεναι, ΖΗΘΙ λεγασί βροτοῖς. Lib. I.

*Plute. 1*

*N<sup>o</sup> 1.*

ΘΕΔΕΝΤΝΤΕΥΣ. ΣΥΝ

Λ. ΣΥΝΒΙΙΣ. Λ. ΝΥΚΥΛ. ΜΕΡΑΙΣΣ. ΤΥΒΤΥΚΣ.

ΘΕΔΕΝΤΝΤΕ. Η. Υ. ΠΟΥΚΙΝΝΙ. ΠΟΥΒΒΕΒ

*N<sup>o</sup> 2.*

ΝΙΤΔΒΙΙΣ. ΤΩ. ΜΕΡ. ΤΥΕ.

Ν. Ν Μ Ν Ν. ΝΒΒΕΥ

*Engraved by L. de Belle*





LITTERAE LATINAE	LITTE	
	<i>Secun</i>	
A	A ϱ Δ	antig. form. ex numis. ϱ lit. Samn. in lapid. invent.
B		B vel V sonat. Vide Tab. Eug. passim.
C		
D		ex signum A, intelligit D Doctys. Hayter. ex lap. mar. Herc.
E	Ε Ε Ξ	
F		Ϝ ϝ Ϟ ϟ valet. PH. vel F. Ϝ ϝ form. Samnit. Ϟ form. Etrusc.
G		
H	⊠ ⊡	rariss. in lapid. invent. ⊠ ex monument. Oscan.
I	Ι Ι Ι	form. Samnit. frequent. occur. in lapid. et in lam. ær.
		valet CH.

## State 2

[illegible]

LITTERARUM QUARUNDAM FORMÆ  
IUXTÀ DIVERSAS LINGUAS

## JUNTA DIVERSAS LINGUAS

EX VETERUM MONUMENTIS INTER SE COLLATÆ.

*Antiquæ et recentior*

<i>Ætius.</i>	<i>Hebrææ</i>	<i>Chaldeæ</i>	<i>Phœnicæ et Sine</i>	<i>Latini</i>	<i>Ægypti.</i>	<i>Græc.</i>
א ב	א	ב	א	A		Α
ב ג	ב	ג	ב	B	ב	Β
ג ד		ד	ג	C		
ד ה			ד	D		Δ
ה ו	ו		ה	E		Ε
ו ז			ו	F		Φ
ז ח			ז	H		Η
ח ט			ח	I		Ι
ט י	י	י	י	L	י	Λ
י כ	כ		י	M		Μ
כ ל			כ	N		Ν
ל מ			ל	O		Ο
מ נ	נ		מ	P		Ρ
נ ס	ס	ס	נ	R		Ρ
ס ז			ס	S	ש	Σ
ז ח			ז	T		Τ
ח ט			ח	Y		Υ
ט י			ט	S		Σ
י כ		כ	י			Γ

*Latini, ubi*







